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GERMANY,

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OR,

RECOLLECTIONS OF A SWISS MINISTER.

BY

J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ, D.D.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

In the spring of the year 1845, the author was called upon to undertake a journey into Germany and Great Britain, for the purpose of drawing closer the bonds of union between those countries and the Christians of Geneva, and in particular with the Evangelical Society of this town. On his return, his Genevese friends requested from him an account of what he had seen. The author deemed it his duty not to refuse this request; and the report was made at the end of the winter of 1846, in four meetings, which were held either in the great hall of the Casino, or in the chapel of the Oratoire. In the following year, in the winter of 1847, the author was again asked if he had no other communications to make, and, therefore, to the recollections of his journey, presented on the previous year, he added some historical recollections. As the public who attended these meetings seemed to think that it would be beneficial to publish his statements, the author sends them to the press. This work is naturally divided into two parts: Travelling Recollections and Historical Recollections. The author is

desirous that these sketches should recall him to the memory of the many dear friends from whom he received so kind a welcome; and to them he dedicates his "Recollections," as a mark of his gratitude and affection. He especially desires that, by the blessing of God, they may conduce to the advancement of His kingdom.

Eaux Vives, Geneva, December, 1847.

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GERMANY, ENGLAND, AND SCOTLAND.

PART I.

TRAVELLING RECOLLECTIONS.

INTRODUCTION.

I HAVE been requested to give some account of the journey I undertook in the year 1845. The task imposed on me is not easy: for on the one hand it is both disagreeable and perilous to speak of one's-self; while on the other, a vague dissertation filled with generalities can have but little interest. I am thus placed between two shoals, and incur the risk of being either ridiculous or dull: I will do all in my power to steer clear of the first, but I cannot promise to avoid the second.

My journey occupied four months, which were divided, in pretty equal portions, among three countries,—England, Scotland, and Germany.

These three nations have each an individual character; for the people of England and of Scotland, though united under the same government, are nevertheless essentially different.

I might easily state their distinguishing characteristics; but I remember, that however great may be the differences which separate nations, that which they have in common is of still higher importance. All are alike in some essential

points, and participate in their estrangement from that God who ought to be the centre and the life of all. It may be said of each of them, "The people weary themselves for very vanity," (Hab. ii. 13.): and also, "There is neither Jew nor Greek, in Christ Jesus." All nations are called upon to rise and look forward to that restoration which the God-man came to bestow upon the new race of whom He was made the Saviour and the King. "There shall be a root of Jesse," saith the prophet; "to it shall the Gentiles seek."

The human race may be compared to an immense temple ruined, but now rebuilding, the numerous compartments of which represent the several nations of the earth. True, the different portions of the edifice present great anomalies; but yet the foundation and the corner-stone are the same. All spring from the same level, and all should be directed to the same end. The walls of the building have been thrown down, and the stones scattered by a great earthquake; yet a mighty Architect has appeared, and his powerful hand is gradually raising the temple-walls. The only difference between one side of the edifice and the other is, that here the restoration is somewhat farther advanced, while there it is less forward. Alas! some places are still overgrown with thorns, where not a single stone appears. Yet the Great Architect may one day look down on these desolate spots, and there the building may suddenly and rapidly spring up, reaching the summit long before those lofty walls which seem to have outgrown the others, but which are still standing half-raised and incomplete. "The last shall be first."

The discriminating features of the several families of mankind, the regenerating principle among the numberless races of the earth, do not consist in a greater or less proportion of natural talent, in different degrees of political advancement, or in closeness of attachment to their ancient national traditions. All these may indeed be of some consequence; but the essential point is their degree of participation in those heavenly influences which alone can call the dead mass of

humanity to life; and in short, their interest in the person and work of the Redeemer. The heathen are on the lowest steps; next come the Moslem; then those Christian nations most unacquainted with the doctrine of free grace; and, lastly, those among which there is a people who are able to say, "The foundation is Jesus Christ." The evangelical nations are the capital of humanity—a capital, alas! still meagre and incomplete!

These are general principles that we must not lose sight of in contemplating the three countries of which I am to speak,—England, Scotland, and Germany. The worldly-minded traveller sees little but diversities and contrasts: the Christian traveller should especially notice relations and identities. I may add, that the three nations I have mentioned are perhaps the three most illustrious branches of the evangelical Christian family. These pages are a mark of the affection I bear them; and even when speaking of the faults I may have met with, my doing so with freedom should be regarded as an additional proof of my love and esteem for them.

> Nunquam te fallant animi sub vulpe latentes.
> Quinctilio si quid recitares; Corrige, sodes,
> Hoc, aiebat, et hoc. . . .
> Si defendere delictum, quam vertere, malles:
> Nullum ultra verbum aut operam insumebat inanem,
> Quin sine rivali teque et tua solus amares.
>
> HORAT. *ad Pisones*, 1. 437.

CHAPTER I.

GERMANY.

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I.

SOLITARY LIFE.

On leaving Switzerland my course lay among the mountains of the Black Forest, where I visited Königsfeld, a little

Moravian congregation, which has established its contemplative life, its quiet manners, and its pious chants, amid that wild and gloomy scenery. Even this is characteristic of Germany. Thence I repaired to Heidelberg, now resuming its place as a centre of theological science,—and then came down the Rhine.

I had spent six years in Germany, from 1817 to 1823, first as a student, afterwards as a pastor, and I can never revisit it without again feeling myself among the friends of my best years.

The German has several features which distinguish him in a striking manner from the Englishman and the Scotchman. He lives within himself; he seems born for the ideal world. His faith, when he has any, is rather in his head than in his heart, and he easily loses himself in mysticism. He feeds upon the ideal; he seeks out the first principles of things, their general laws, their essence. Systems of philosophy succeed one another in his country more rapidly than forms of government with the people most changeable in politics.

While elsewhere the life of man assumes more and more a public character, the German leads a solitary existence. He lives in his study, from the window of which, late and early, the light of his lamp is seen shining. A friend of mine, a Frenchman by birth, who resides in a university town, opposite one of the professors, said to me, "That is a singular man; I really do not know when he sleeps; his lamp is always burning!" The Germans are a people to be taken separately and singly; they have seldom or never hitherto formed into groups and parties; and it may be said of Germany, as regards the empire of thought, what the Bible said of Israel at one period, with regard to social order—"In those days there was no king, but every man did that which was right in his own eyes."

Germany, although some may think the contrary, is, in many respects, the country of individualism; the church, therefore, which is the concentration and organization of

Christian individuals, is yet in a state of infancy. One evening last summer, being at the house of one of the most distinguished German theologians, who had invited me to meet some of his colleagues, I was speaking of England and Scotland, which I had just left, and of what was doing there. My entertainer, who listened to me with much interest, said, "We in Germany have a science, but we have no Church." This is a characteristic remark.

A science and no Church! There are, in fact, two elements necessary to the progress of Christianity—the scientific and the practical. If the development of the latter is the task God has imposed upon Britain, where ecclesiastical life is so powerful, the development of the former has fallen to the lot of Germany. It is only to be wished that she would perform it with more respect for the source of all science—the Word of God.

Hitherto the German has been contented to live alone at his ease, among his own ideas, his own faith; perhaps even, in some cases, his own errors. Faithful to the character of the ancient Germans, he seeks, not indeed in the seclusion of forests, but in the mysterious depths of his own mind, some undefined divinity which he worships. *Deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud, quod sola reverentia vident.** But a new epoch has now begun: throughout Germany, individualities are tending to unite and form into groups. The scattered members are here and there collecting into a body. The bones are gathering together, according to the prophecy of Ezekiel; sinews are coming upon them, flesh is growing, and soon they will stand upon their feet, an exceeding great army.

It is interesting to watch how this transformation is taking place in Germany; how, from isolated existences, she is advancing to a single concentrated existence. It is a remarkable phenomenon. But there is another in Germany still more so,—the transformation, in which faith succeeds

* Tacit. de Mor. Germ.

unbelief. This phenomenon, unhappily, is not general; yet, though there are beyond the Rhine manifestations of infidelity more striking than ever, I am persuaded that the movement towards the truth will be stronger still.

There are, thus, two movements in Germany which I would point out. In the first the opposite poles are unbelief and faith; in the other, individualism and the Church.

II.

FIRST MOVEMENT.—INFIDELITY.

My first visit to Germany was in 1817, immediately after my consecration to the ministry of the Word of God, and with the design of studying theology for a longer period before entering upon its active duties. I spent some time as a student at the Universities of Leipsic and Berlin; afterwards, four years in Hamburg, as pastor of the French church. My arrival in Germany was rendered remarkable, by a circumstance connected with my inward life. I was stunned—almost overwhelmed, by the tempest of rationalism and infidelity which was then raging. After having remained in the cheerless principles of Unitarianism until nearly the conclusion of my studies at the academy of Geneva, I had been seized by the Word of God. I had believed in the divinity of the Saviour, in original sin, the power of which I had experienced in my own heart, and in justification by faith. I had experienced the joys of the new birth. I was yet, however, weak: I was willing to take up the Cross of Christ; but I preferred regarding it as wisdom rather than foolishness. It was at this time that I arrived in Germany. Every theological journal I read, every book I looked into, almost every one, both ministers and laymen, whom I met, were affected with Rationalism, so that the poison of infidelity was presented to me on all sides.

I then entered upon a fearful spiritual struggle, defending

with my whole strength my still feeble faith, yet sometimes falling under the blows of the enemy. I was inwardly consumed. There was not a moment in which I was not ready to lay down my life for the faith I professed; and never did I ascend the pulpit without being able to proclaim, with fulness of faith, salvation by Jesus. But scarcely had I left it, when the enemy assailed me anew, and inspired my mind with agonizing doubts. I passed whole nights without sleep, crying to God from the bottom of my heart, or endeavoring, by arguments and syllogisms without end, to repel the attacks of the adversary. Such were my combats during those weary watchings, that I almost wonder how I did not sink under them.

It happened at this time (1819) that a friend of mine,* settled in Paris, was on the point of visiting Copenhagen, where his mother's family resided. Another friend of ours, Charles Rieu, was the pastor of Fredericia in Jutland. We were all three Genevese; we had studied together at Geneva; and had come at the same time to the knowledge of the truth, although Rieu had outstripped us in all respects, especially in the simplicity of his faith and devotedness to the Lord. We agreed to travel together to Copenhagen, and to meet at Kiel, the capital of Holstein.

Kiel is a German university, and at that time was the residence of Kleuker, one of the oldest champions of German divinity, who had been for forty years defending Christian revelation against the attacks of infidel theologians, in apologetic works of some celebrity. There were many passages of Scripture which stopped me, and I proposed visiting Kleuker, and asking him to explain them, hoping by this visit to be delivered from my agonizing doubts.

Accordingly I waited on Kleuker, and requested that learned and experienced Christian to elucidate for my satisfaction many passages whence some of his countrymen in their writings had drawn proofs against the inspiration of Scripture

* The Rev. Frederic Monod.

and the divine origin of Christianity. The old doctor would not enter into any detailed solution of these difficulties. "Were I to succeed in ridding you of them," he said to me, "others would soon arise: There is a shorter, deeper, more complete way of annihilating them. Let Christ be really to you the Son of God, the Saviour, the Author of Eternal Life. Only be firmly settled in his grace, and then these difficulties of detail will never stop you: the light which proceeds from Christ will disperse all your darkness."

The old divine had shown me the way: I saw it was the right one, but to follow it was a hard task. God, who had already revealed to me the glory of his well-beloved Son, did not forsake me; but he used another agency to bring me to the mark which had been pointed out.

As steam-boats were not at that time very regular, we had to wait some days for the one in which my friends and I intended proceeding to Copenhagen. We were staying at an hotel, and used to spend part of our time in reading the Word of God together. M. Monod and I chose Rieu for our chaplain. He was an ear of corn which the Lord had early brought to full maturity, and which was soon after carried to the everlasting garner. Two years after, I wept over his grave, amidst his desolate flock, with whom I celebrated the death of the Lord. I was at this time at Kiel, enjoying my last converse with this much esteemed friend. We all three communicated to each other our thoughts on reading the Word, but it was Rieu who most abundantly brought out the hidden riches of the Book of God.

We were studying the Epistle to the Ephesians, and had got to the end of the third chapter, when we read the two last verses: "Now unto him who is able to do EXCEEDING ABUNDANTLY above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us, unto him be glory," &c. This expression fell upon my soul as a mighty revelation from God. "HE can do by His power," I said to myself, "above all that we *ask*, above all even that we *think*, nay, EXCEEDING

ABUNDANTLY above all!" A full trust in Christ for the work to be done within my poor heart now filled my soul. We all three knelt down, and, although I had never fully confided to my friends my inward struggles, (for I dared not make them known to any but to God alone,) the prayer of Rieu was filled with such admirable faith, as he would have uttered had he known all my wants. When I arose, in that inn room at Kiel, I felt as if my "wings were renewed as the wings of eagles." From that time forward I comprehended that my own syllogisms and efforts were of no avail; that Christ was able to do all by his "power that worketh in us;" and the habitual attitude of my soul was to lie at the foot of the Cross, crying to Him, "Here am I, bound hand and foot, unable to move, unable to do the least thing to get away from the enemy who oppresses me. Do all thyself. I know that thou wilt do it, thou wilt even do *exceeding abundantly* above all that I ask."

I was not disappointed. All my doubts were soon dispelled, and not only was I delivered from that inward anguish which in the end would have destroyed me, had not God been faithful; but the Lord "extended unto me peace like a river."* Then I could "comprehend with all saints what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height; and know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge."† Then was I able to say, "Return unto thy rest, O my soul; for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee."‡

If I relate these things, it is not as my own history—not the history of myself alone—but of many pious young men, who in Germany, and even elsewhere, have been assailed by the raging waves of Rationalism. Many, alas! have made shipwreck of their faith, and some have even violently put an end to their lives. On this account I shall always remember the words of Scripture, "Thou hast set my feet in a large room."§ "He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord."‖

* Isaiah, lxvi. 12. † Ephes. iii. 18, 19. ‡ Psalm, cxvi. 7.
§ Psalm, xxxi. 8. ‖ 1 Cor. i. 31.

I do not mean to describe Rationalism as I then found it in Germany—that *rationalismus vulgaris*, as it has been called, adopting the terminology of botany—that edifice which has now nothing left to show but here and there a crumbling wall—that unbelieving world in which two doctors, who are still living, Paulus of Heidelberg, and Wegscheider of Halle, were long the Fathers of the infidel church. A celebrated theologian (now indeed too celebrated!) has already done this in a work which we are happy to have it in our power to praise. I refer to the book entitled "A Historical Inquiry into the probable Causes of the Rationalist Character lately predominant in the Theology of Germany, by E. B. Pusey, M.A., Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. London, 1828."

But this worn-out Rationalism has been succeeded by a new one. The tree is withered; but from its roots has sprung an offshoot, which seems likely to extend its branches still farther than the old one. I will, therefore, say a few words of this more modern Rationalism, which I found in Germany at the time of my journey in 1845. My remarks will be a short supplement to the work of the celebrated divine before mentioned, with whom, however, I would in no way compare myself. I know not whether, during his residence in Germany (which as to time corresponds, I think, with my own), he suffered, like me, from the attacks of Rationalism. If such was the case, as it well might be, Dr. Pusey, I presume, made his escape through tradition; while I, as has been seen, was saved by the Word of God. The weaker of the two found the stronger support.

The political hopes which Germany entertained in 1813, 1814, and 1815, having been disappointed, and the religious movement not having been successful in renewing the church, the more serious Germans were driven back upon themselves. The emancipation of the state and the church having failed, they turned to the emancipation of the mind. A philosopher (Hegel) was the great liberator. He sought to re-

generate the people by the most profound speculations. *To know*, instead of *to believe*, was the grand principle enthroned by the great Gnostic of the nineteenth century; and thus he arrived at three great denials,—the denial of a personal God, the denial of a personal Christ, and the denial of the personality of man after death.

The fundamental principle of every pantheistic doctrine is the basis of Hegel's religious philosophy. The idea of a God is, according to him, a development, by virtue of which the non-existent becomes a being (from *not to be*, to *be*), from *non-ens* to *ens*.* We do not find in the system of Hegel the historical Christ, the God-man of the Bible. According to him, the appearance of God in the flesh took place at a certain time, in order to make known the unity of the divine with the human; in order that the finite spirit (man) might recognize his unity with God, and know that God has his being within him.

"Christ is merely the first who acknowledged in himself this unity of God and man," says the German philosopher.

"A man must believe in the unity of God and man in the person of Christ, in order that he may recognize the same unity within himself.

"Christ is not the only God-man, he is not even so in any especial manner. The idea of God-man belongs to all mankind.

"There is a universal incarnation of God which does not proceed from Christ, and which renders all men essentially equal to Christ."

Such is Hegel's Christology.

This philosopher, however, did not pretend to substitute philosophy for religion. He knew, as a recent writer observed, that in a time of famine, a dissertation upon the organs and process of digestion will satisfy nobody's hunger. But the disciples have done what the master could not accomplish.

* Ein sich Entwickeln von Nicht seyn zu Seyn.

He formed two principal schools ; that on the right hand, which drew nearer to Christianity, and that on the left, which rushed into a vulgar pantheism, dressed up in a few scientific terms ; or, as these two parties have been called, the orthodox and the heterodox tongues. Every adept of the latter might now be seen endeavoring to exalt his own personality (his *ego*) by the sacrifice of the personality (the *ego*) of the Divine Being. Each would dethrone God to make a god of himself, and each presents to us as the ultimate expression of Christianity and of Protestantism, the dreams of ancient Paganism, or of some obscure sects of the middle ages.

The doctrines of Hegel found at first but few adherents among the youth of the German universities. It was too profound for the majority of intellects ; but his disciples soon tried to vulgarize it. The mystical lucubrations drawn from the deep abysses of the Berlin professor were dispersed abroad in a thousand different channels,—in pamphlets, newspapers, ladies' books, novels, and poetry. Its followers did for Hegelism in Germany, what is doing for Puseyism in England, and it soon became the gospel of the day.*

Strauss was the most powerful promoter of this pantheistical *gospel*. Though the notion of sin had wholly disappeared from the new German theology, there still remained some faint traces at least of the doctrine of redemption. In Strauss not a glimpse of it is left. "The whole evangelical history is one great myth—an allegory, the meaning of which is to be sought out. The Christ of the Gospel is," according to Strauss, "the produce of the monotheist supernaturalism of the Jewish nation. Here arises a dilemma. Either this Christ Jesus is a miracle, that is to say, a contradiction, or else he has never existed. The latter supposition alone is admitted by the mythological Christology. Humanity is the Christ in which God incessantly makes himself flesh."

* Der Deutche Protestantismus, p. 193.

The work of Strauss popularized the ideas which might, perhaps, have remained within the boundaries of science; and a crowd of idle young men rashly yielded to these fatal illusions. Strauss possessed, at least, science, method, critical skill, and a real talent for exposition. All these were now neglected. The essential object was to bring forward something strange and startling, and thus gain both reputation and money. Wider and wider spread the opinions of the youthful pantheist, the author of a work on the Rehabilitation of the Flesh, who exclaimed, that if the world had never heard of God it would have been very happy, and would peaceably have enjoyed the intoxication of life! "The fool hath said in his heart there is no God."

They had gone very far, but the limit was not yet reached. The German youth—I mean those who were grouped around these doctors—were hurrying down a steep descent which terminated in the abyss of atheism. This they quickly reached, nay, even rushed beyond it. Then began in Germany a fearful race of intellects, each striving to outdo the other in impiety. Scarcely had one of these rebellious spirits reached a certain stage of irreligion, when another started off to outrun him, and assert falsities still more diabolical. Strauss had stripped Christianity of every positive and historical element. Bruno Bauer, a theologian likewise, went still farther. He stigmatized the "theology of the heart," the *pectoral* theology as he called it, and exposed what he termed the theological shamelessnesses or indecencies (schamlosigkeiten); and, rejecting Christianity altogether, held it up to the ridicule of his countrymen.

A general idea of religion still remained. But then came forward Feuerbach, another of those champions of impiety, who undertook to deliver his nation from the "illusion of religion." And scarcely had the wretched man arrived at this pitch of atheism, when he was overtaken by another still bolder than himself, Max Stirner, who, as he passed on, jeered at him, calling him a *priest* (Pfaffen), a superstitious

man, seeing that he had allowed one *idol* to subsist:—*the love of mankind!* "Down," he cries, "down with this superstition also! Egoism, selfishness! that is all that is left. Behold the supreme ruler of the world!" All these forms of impiety have thus devoured each other. Anti-christianism has been swallowed up by atheism, and this in its turn by egoism. This Satanic principle has asserted itself to be the ultimate expression of human wisdom, These are "clouds without water, carried about of winds; raging waves of the sea, foaming out their own shame: wandering stars, to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever."

Thus Germany has exhibited within these last few years a terrible, yet no doubt a salutary spectacle. The great lesson to be derived from it is to yield nothing when the truth of God is concerned. If we take but one step backwards, we give the first impulse to go a hundred, a thousand, and we know not what will be the end.

Infidelity in Germany has not been confined to a few obscure writers, obliged to hide themselves in some corner, and reduced to communicate their blasphemies to a small number of contemptible adepts. Such may be the case in England, but it is far otherwise in Germany. These men have been listened to with favor by the most cultivated classes. In the course of the summer while I was in Germany (1845), a great meeting of German writers, for the most part infidel, was held at Leipsic; and there, one Mr. Jordan, of Konigsberg, at a dinner of these literary men, proposed a toast to *The Atheists!* . . . . . I will not repeat the terms, their impiety makes me shudder: an icy coldness and dead silence pervaded the assembly.

This modern impiety of Germany has been accompanied by great immorality; and as faith is manifested by works of charity, so does atheism show itself by the grossest materialism. The young German generation have declared in one of their organs that "They will be free, throw off as oppressive bonds all laws of civil order, of ecclesiastical and re-

ligious institutions, and finally emancipate themselves from the yoke of moral principles."*

It is whispered that a Young German party, forming at Oxford, is desirous of planting in England the doctrines of Hegel and of Strauss. I do not know the opinions of that new school; but if it belong to the modern German philosophy, it is easy to see the course it will follow, and whither it will lead England. Oxford would thus pass from the extreme of superstition and formality (Puseyism) to the extreme of unbelief and materialism. I trust that British good sense, —the practical sense of Englishmen,—will confine these follies to a few men in a few colleges. Yet, let us beware. Of all countries Germany is undoubtedly the one in which these monstrosities spring up most easily, and where they show themselves most openly. But if all the friends of Christian religion and morality do not increase in decision, holiness, and zeal, we may perhaps see them raising their heads in every quarter.

The "Friends of Light" appear to be a mixture of the old rationalism and the new. The opinions I have hitherto described are more or less individual: but the societies of the Friends of Light are associations of infidelity. Rationalism has been confined as yet to theological schools; it is now descending among the people. Since 1841 conferences have been held, under the banner of infidelity, especially in Saxony and Saxon Prussia, composed of ministers, schoolmasters, clerks, and tradesmen. By degrees these conferences have become popular assemblies. One of their chief leaders is the Pastor Wislicenus, who once said, "Why should not Jesus be the Son of God? I too am his son!" Some have protested against Wislicenus, others have declared in his favor: the dispute is not yet decided.

All these manifestations have met in Germany with a vigorous resistance, of which I must now say a few words.

* Der Deutche Protestantismus, p. 200.

III.

FAITH.

When I arrived in Germany in 1817 a great movement was preparing among the people.

They were hastening as one man to celebrate the third centenary jubilee of the Reformation. From this epoch may be dated the revival of the church, the third reformation of Germany, if we may regard the revival in the time of Spener, at the end of the seventeenth century, as the second.

At Frankfort I first learnt how important the moment was which I had selected for visiting this learned land. I was informed that all the youth of the German Universities were to meet at the castle of Wartburg some days before the jubilee, to celebrate the memory of Luther. I travelled night and day to arrive there in time; and at eight o'clock on the morning of the festival, I was set down with a friend in the great square of Eisenach, at the foot of the Wartburg. A crowd of students, dressed in the oddest costumes, filled the place. I took part in the proceedings, for my designation of Genevese student immediately opened to me the gates of that old castle in which the Reformation had been held captive in the person of its principal leader. But, alas! what called forth the enthusiasm of these young men was far less the faith of Luther than the reveries of demagogues. As for me, I beheld only the monk of Worms within the place of his captivity, and the idea of the reformer took a powerful hold of my mind. I attended divine service in the church of Eisenach, and afterwards celebrated at Leipsic the festival of the jubilee itself. Wherever I went, memorials of the Reformation welcomed me, the bells rang out merrily, troops of students were singing, and the people were rejoicing: it was then I formed the design of writing the history of that great renovation.

The thoughts of the German people, and especially of the ministers, being thus forcibly carried back to the ancient paths, to the writings of Luther, and to the Bible itself, found therein truth and life. One of those who contributed more than others to this movement was Claud Harms, the celebrated Archdeacon of Kiel, who published ninety-five theses against Rationalism, as an appendix to those of Luther against the Papacy. I frequently saw him during the time of my ministry at Hamburg. He is one of the most respected leaders, of what I shall call the Practical school, but which in Germany is termed (incorrectly as I think) the Pietist party.

Faith, which had appeared to slumber, and even to have died away in Germany, now revived among both people and ministers, in universities and in courts. Believers were, no doubt, in a minority, but this minority was sufficient to make rationalism tremble.

There were, perhaps, some imperfections in this faith, which has been ever since increasing. Two elements constitute Christian piety; the vital knowledge of the sin of man, and of the grace of God. Now, the former of these elements is, perhaps, in Germany, more powerful than the latter. The cause of this, in part at least, is, that while the doctrine of innate corruption is frequently brought forward, that of election by grace is either unknown or disputed.

In this respect Germany is unfaithful to herself. Not only does the Lutheran Church in its ancient articles affirm, as decidedly as any other, the absolute incapacity of the natural man, but also most faithfully declares the free election of God. This election it regards not merely as a general decree, but as a choice which applies individually to every one of the elect.* It is not the mere foreknowledge of God,—that foreknowledge is extended to all creatures,

* Deus illo suo auxilio non tantum in genere salutem suorum procuravit, verum etiam omnes et singulas personas electorum clementer præscivit, ad salutem elegit, et decrevit, &c. Formula Concordiæ, p. 603.

says the Formula of Concord,—but it is a predestination which appertains only to the children of God.* This election not only foresees salvation, but is itself the cause of it, and procures salvation with all things necessary thereto.† It manifests and confirms, in an absolute and unexceptionable manner, that salvation is through grace, and that we are justified without any merit on our part, only for the sake of Christ, since we were elected in Christ unto eternal salvation according to the counsel of God, before the creation of the world, and while we were unable to do any thing good.‡ As salvation thus rests upon the eternal decrees of God, it is therefore infallible, "and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."§

These are the tenets of the Lutheran church, which are misunderstood, and even opposed by most of her ministers and doctors.‖ Happening, therefore, in 1845, to be, with one of the principal theologians of Germany, (if he is not, indeed, the first,) I told him, that Calvinist as I was, I was more of a Lutheran than the Lutherans themselves; and that I did not think there were three sincere Lutherans in all Germany. He smiled; but I well remember, he did not deny my assertion.

This forgetfulness of the elective grace of God has been most hurtful to Germany, and is one cause of the weakness, the hesitation, and the disorders which prevail there. The doctrine of election by grace is necessary to the strength and the stability of faith. We would therefore desire that,

* Prescientia ad omnes creaturas extenditur. Æterna vere electio seu prædestinatio Dei ad salutem tantum ad filios Dei pertinet. F. C. p. 610.

† Electio Dei est causa ipsorum salutis. Eorum salutem disponit, procurat, efficit, juvat, promovet, &c. F. C. pp. 475—611.

‡ Cum quidem nihil boni agere adhuc poteramus. secundum propositum Dei in Christo, ad æternam salutem electi sumus. F. C. p. 618.

§ Super hanc Dei prædestinationem salus nostra ita fundata est, ut infernorum portæ eam evertere nequeant. F. C. p. 475.

‖ See especially Köllner's Symbolik.

on this point, Germany should retrace her steps; that she should believe as her fathers believed, and as she ought still to believe. "Thus saith the Lord, Stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls."

Yet, notwithstanding this defect in German piety, as revived during the last thirty years, it must be owned that it has displayed a salutary influence. The rationalist clergy had abandoned the common people: evangelical piety turned towards them. It remembered that through Jesus "the poor have the Gospel preached unto them:" and this it did. At the epoch of the Reformation, the movement in Germany was too little felt among the people. Ministers, men of letters, nobles, and princes, took the principal parts in it. This cannot be said of the present time. Faith has descended to the lower ranks of the nation, opened her arms to the lowly and the wretched, and quickened them by her holy embraces. There are few countries of Christendom, perhaps not one, in which the Gospel has been brought down to the simple, and received by the poor as in Germany. This is our trust, when we behold the storm with which these pernicious doctrines threaten that country.

Faith is not the only principle which has withstood infidelity in Germany; science and theology have also come forward, and fearful struggles have for some time past been going on. Several of the most eminent men in the German universities have been of opinion that it was the duty of science to establish and fortify that faith, which science had shaken and almost annihilated, and they set themselves courageously to the task. Neander, Nitzsch, Ullmann, Tholuck, Hundeshagen, and many more, have marched forward, and are still pressing on towards this object by different roads. In this learned school some of the doctrines upon inspiration are rather lax; they still incline a little through exegesis towards rationalism, and a few of the sad consequences of this system are now evident. But we find in these illustrious

men a real faith in Christ, and an efficacy of the Holy Spirit working in them and by them. They may be called, and I think they call themselves, Rational Believers. One of their chief characteristics is their opposition to a faith determined and limited by confession and creed; or, at least, if they should admit a confession of faith, it will not be that of the sixteenth century. They would draw up their own, setting out from this principle, that a confession of faith should represent the expression of evangelical piety, and reject the more positive determinations of theology.

The march of these learned Christians towards the re-establishment of faith is but slow. They have indeed to combat a multitude of prejudices, which the rationalist period has left upon the German soil; but there are none of those difficulties which their system is unprepared to consider and to resolve. They do not content themselves with sneering at the doctrines of their adversaries, as superficial theologians too often have done; they endeavor to comprehend and refute them, and to convince those who profess them. Yet the numerous individuals who compose this liberal school vary in many respects from each other; and it is somewhat difficult to class them in the same category. All are acquainted with the historical writings of Neander, who, looking back over every age, skilfully seeks and discovers a living Christianity in them all. The System of Christian doctrine by Nitzsch is a profound, vigorous, concise theology, where Christian faith and Christian life combine in most perfect harmony.* By the means of Tholuck, God has turned the most numerous and the most infidel of the German universities into a school of prophets; while the exegetical writings of this learned man place him, with Olshausen, now deceased, at the head of German theologians. Ullmann enters with science, intelligence, and vigor, into all the ques-

* I do not mean that I agree in all points with this excellent book, particularly with the sentiments expressed by the author in the chapters upon Election and Reconciliation, pp. 251. 261. 266. 269. (4th edition.)

tions of the day; and his work upon the Impeccability or Anamartesis* of Christ, is the best contribution of modern times to apologetic literature. Hundeshagen has lately joined this learned phalanx; and by his excellent work on German Rationalism has greatly moved all Germany, and opened up new ways for her.

Above this Scientific school we find the Symbolical and the Ecclesiastical schools. Although distinct, yet they approach each other, and seem to be gradually intermingling.

The former of these, the Symbolical School, of which Hengstenberg of Berlin is the representative, and to which Twesten and some others belong, holds essentially to the creeds, the confessions of faith of the sixteenth century, the orthodoxy of the Reformation. It is, in our opinion at least, more pure than the preceding school, both in its principles on the inspiration of the Scriptures, and also in its doctrines. Hengstenberg is known by his remarkable writings on the Old Testament; but his principal weapon is the famous Evangelical Gazette, which he has edited at Berlin ever since 1827. This periodical, which appears twice a week, was at first essentially a paper for edification; but it has become, especially since 1830, an ecclesiastical and theological journal, and from it have proceeded the most vigorous blows which have been dealt against both the old and the new rationalism. Never, perhaps, has any periodical been such an object of fear and hatred. Dr. Hengstenberg presides at Berlin as a mighty champion,—he deals his blows to the right and to the left; they may not always be kept within due measure; but Christian truth, being attacked by so great a multitude of different enemies as it is in Germany, to make head against them requires one of those powerful characters, whose very strength occasionally leads them into excess. Perhaps, also, Hengtensberg is not free from the fault which absolute Conservatives are liable to commit. Seeing that his adversaries would destroy

* Αναμαρτησις.

every thing, he would preserve every thing. The constitutional government of Lutheranism is very defective; the domination of the state over the church is carried to a height in Germany which shocks even moderate Erastians. But it would seem that Hengstenberg beholds a great dilemma presented to his church:—her present condition, or the reign of the Friends of Light,—all to be kept, or all to be lost; and however ready to acknowledge what would be an improvement in the proposed change, he would rather keep all as it is than risk any essential point. There is not in Germany a name so hateful to the world as that of Hengstenberg; but posterity will do him more justice, and even already, decided Christians in every country, and foreigners in particular, make him amends by their esteem, for the numerous attacks which he is continually forced to endure.

If the symbolical school has been formed in opposition to rationalism in every degree, the ecclesiastical school proceeds especially from an opposition to the union of the two churches, (the Lutheran and the Reformed,) provoked by the late King of Prussia.

This union, commenced at the time of the jubilee of the Reformation in 1817, was almost completed at the jubilee of the Augsburg Confession in 1830. It met at first with great opposition; and the saying of Madame de Stael is well known: "It is two corpses embracing." If the living faith, which was then reviving in the church, and which, by drawing both the Lutherans and the Reformed nearer to Christ, brought them nearer to each other, rendered this union more easy to some, it must be owned that most of the ministers and churches united, because rationalism had swept away not only the doctrines which separated the two communions, but many of still greater importance. How could they dispute on the manner of communicating in the Lord's Supper with the body of Christ, when they no longer believed that Christ "gave his life a ransom for many," and even regarded his resurrection as a fable?

A powerful reaction, however, soon took place, more especially among the Lutherans. They not only found doctrines still dear to many, more or less compromised, but they were also shocked with the manner in which the union was accomplished. The united church needed a common form of worship; but as committees composed of divines could not come to an understanding on that point, the king himself undertook (in 1822) to compose, with the help of his aide-de-camp, a Liturgy, or Book of Common Prayer. This was truly cutting the knot with the sword of Alexander. At first the liturgy was imposed by the king only upon the chapel royal and the garrison chapels; it was merely *recommended* to the rest of the churches. Upon this a most animated controversy arose; some finding the liturgy too orthodox, others not orthodox enough; some thinking it too Romish, others too Reformed. Many discovered a political element in it which ought to be foreign to the church.

Meanwhile the government persevered in its design, using alternately promises and threats to get its prayer-book accepted. Some writers asserted that the king had a right to impose his book upon all the churches, by virtue of the territorial system, which considers church government as appertaining to the functions of the civil power; so that the prince exercises this government in his temporal capacity, like any other branch of his sovereign authority, and without being in any manner bound by the opinion of the church. While such principles were boldly professed, an outcry arose in Germany, not so much against the union as in favor of the liberty of the church; and it is to the honor of the famous Dr. Schleiermacher, professor of Theology at Berlin, that he courageously opposed the subjection of the church to the civil power. An ecclesiastical commission was appointed, a new revisal of the liturgy was made in 1829, and peace was gradually restored.

But if opposition on this head had ceased, it was to arise with fresh strength on doctrinal points. The doctrine of the

real presence, or consubstantiation, again found enthusiastic partisans. It was in Silesia especially that this strictly Lutheran movement began. When the church of Breslau accepted the liturgy, and entered into the union, Professor Scheibel opposed it, and rejected the union as being an alliance of Christ and Belial. A purely Lutheran church formed itself around him.

Doubtless there was, and is yet, something narrow and exclusive in the Lutheran spirit. In the eyes of these doctors, the sacraments administered in the Reformed church are no sacraments at all. Still they had a right to religious liberty as well as others; and its refusal is greatly to be deplored.

An enthusiasm in favor of ancient Lutheranism spread over Silesia and Thuringia; in the former country persecution soon began, and pastors were suspended and deprived. When the government endeavored to establish the liturgy at Hönigern, the whole congregation met on the Sunday morning round the church, and began to sing hymns, and, standing close together, these faithful Lutherans prevented the government officials from entering the building, without resorting to violence. In several places the magistracy had recourse to arms to introduce its liturgy. It was a pious prince, Frederic William III., who allowed himself to proceed to such extremities! The present king, in 1845, granted full liberty to the ancient Lutherans.

This party still possesses great strength, and is chiefly represented by Dr. Harless, formerly of Erlangen, now of Leipsic. With these ancient Lutherans, rationalism and the Reformed church mean nearly the same thing; while they identify the Lutheran doctrine with that of the Bible. They admit many of the doctrines held in England by the Puseyites, as baptismal regeneration, and consubstantiation in the Lord's Supper; but they maintain justification by faith, and this has saved them.

Such is the first movement now taking place in Germany; and whose two opposite poles are infidelity and faith.

There is another which I have pointed out; that whose two poles are individualism and the church. I now proceed to sketch some of its characteristics.

IV.

SECOND MOVEMENT.

This necessity of concentration, now evident in Germany, seems to me to have assumed three successive forms.

The tendency towards union was first manifested by Christian societies, or religious associations similar to those we have in Switzerland, France, and Britain especially.

In the meanwhile, until German individualism melts away into great ecclesiastical unions, the people have been making trial of religious associations, such as the Bible, and missionary societies, with some others. The Bible meetings have given us some valuable articles from the pen of Neander; and the missionary meetings have contributed everywhere to reanimate the Christian spirit. This has been the case more particularly in the grand duchy of Baden, and in Wurtemberg, where the powerful voice of Inspector Hoffmann of Bale has often been heard. The Germans seem inferior to our British friends in the art of holding large meetings; but they are improving in this respect, as I witnessed on an occasion of which I am about to speak.

The Bible and missionary societies had only united the Christians of a few towns, or of a few provinces, and at most of a few countries; the Germans have now taken another step forward. The Society of Gustavus Adolphus has been formed for the purpose of uniting the evangelical Christians of all Germany.

This society, founded for the maintenance of Protestantism, met at Stutgard on the 2d of September. I attended in the

name of my friends of Geneva. At six o'clock in the morning, from the towers of the principal church, on which the flag of Wurtemberg was hoisted, the melodious hymns of Luther, announcing the dawn of an evangelical day, resounded all over the town. At eight, an immense crowd rushed into the sacred building, which was adorned with garlands and boughs. Here divine service was to be performed, and its lofty aisles already re-echoed with the Hallelujah of Handel. At ten, a still greater multitude filled another church, where the meeting of the society was to be held. Delegates from many different countries—from Germany, Switzerland, France, Belgium, Denmark, Hungary, Transylvania, Portugal, and even from America and the Indies,—were there assembled. There was no doubt that confusion which characterizes Germany; there were gathered together, pell-mell, all kinds of opinions, from Pantheism and Rationalism, to the highest doctrines of the faith; nevertheless, the sound doctrines predominated in the meeting.

The report was read by the secretary, Dr. Grossmann of Leipsic, son of the chairman of the meeting. The principles stated by this young theologian may be considered as the general expression of all parties in Germany. Doubtless they give these principles different interpretations; yet it is nevertheless important to know what are the general ideas under which the Protestant world of Germany is now ranging itself. These, then, are the tones in which the society of Gustavus Adolphus addressed the Germanic nations:—

"We shall give an account, gentlemen, of the fidelity with which we hand down to future ages what we have ourselves received. It is necessary to the development of mankind, that the moment a new society is founded, certain spiritual powers should be bestowed on it. If these forces are weakened, the whole society will be affected, just as unwholesome food weakens and reduces the body. Two of these forces, for which we must now secure a great influence over mankind (unless we would permit it to be lost for a long series

of years), are the grand doctrine of justification by faith, and the exclusive authority of the Holy Scriptures.

These are certainly sound words: the whole of Christianity is comprised in these two points.

But this was not all: another idea, an idea of great importance to our times, was pointed out. One of the greatest theologians of Germany, Dr. Ullmann of Heidelberg rose, and said in the name of the Grand Duchy of Baden,—"At length we behold the manifestation of that living communion which unites us as evangelical Christians. Yet the German Evangelical Church, however important, is but one member of the whole body. Christianity, far from destroying different nationalities, consecrates and sanctifies them: at the same time it hovers over them, and by elevating the nations would make of them all one great society of brethren. All nations are called upon mutually to complete each other on the common ground of Christianity. There must therefore exist among them living and personal relations, and the evangelical Christians of all nations must see, understand, love each other, and join hands in brotherhood. A church which has given to our age a great example of Christian devotedness and sacrifice—the Free Church of Scotland—has just called us to this. Let us therefore invite the other churches of Christendom to found societies similar to ours, and to send their representatives to our General Assemblies."

Immediately after the motion of Dr. Ullmann, we beheld successively ascending the tribune to support it, Elvers, judge of the Supreme Court; Sydow, chaplain of the Court of Potsdam; Dr. Schumann, the superintendent; the pastor, Steffenson from Denmark; Dr. Filther, from Louisville, in the United States; Zimmermann, the Court chaplain; and Dr. Nitzsch, the distinguished theologian of Bonn, superior counsellor of the Consistory; and all spoke warmly in favor of a great evangelical unity.

Let us profit by this: let us remember that there are in reality but two nations on the earth,—the believers and the

unbelievers; and let us not allow trifles to separate those who have alike received into their hearts the living faith of the children of God.

I was next called upon to speak. "I am come from Geneva," I said. "There is here at Stutgard an evangelical meeting to uphold the work of the great Reformation. The town of Calvin cannot hold back. Geneva also is a member of Christ's body. Yes; from the shores of the Baltic, Gustavus Adolphus, the great Protestant warrior, and from the foot of Mont Blanc, John Calvin, the great Protestant divine, should join hands together over all the German people."

I will not repeat my speech; it has been printed in German, the language in which it was spoken. Though declaring that I respected the individuality of our friends of the Society of Gustavus Adolphus, and honored their conscientious convictions, I thought it right to exhibit to them in what manner our evangelical society of Geneva differed from theirs. I undertook to point out in a more especial manner three principal features. I first showed that we proposed not only to preserve the ancient Protestant churches, which is the aim of the Society of Gustavus Adolphus, but that we desired to gain over to the Gospel those souls which are still enthralled by the yoke of Rome; thus being *aggressives* as well as *conservatives*. I added, that our second characteristic was to be, as regards the faith, not only *negative* but *positive;* not contenting ourselves with merely rejecting the errors of Rome, but striving to set up in their room Jesus Christ, his eternal Godhead, his expiatory sacrifice, and justification by faith in his blood. Lastly, I remarked, as the third distinction, that we also desired Christian unity; but, that with us *internal* unity, the unity of faith, took precedence of *external* unity.

I learnt with pleasure that after my departure, a great number of the most venerable men in Germany united to form a society, which proposed to act on the principles I had pointed out, yet without separating themselves from the So-

ciety of Gustavus Adolphus. I could not have had a more satisfactory answer. May God bless this design! I must nevertheless add, that it seems difficult to prevent such conflicting elements, as are to be found in this society, from separating at no very distant day. If the separation does not proceed from the men of faith, the unbelievers will undertake it. Is it not written in the Word of God, that He divided the light from the darkness? When a society, essentially evangelical, is once established in Germany, its action will be much more powerful, and much more blessed.

V.

CHURCH PRINCIPLES.

In this manner is German individualism amalgamating into large associations. But this is not all: there is an analogous movement of concentration going on at this time within the church. I have said, that in Germany there is a science, but no church. The people wish for a church, they now feel the want of it, and for this object all is in motion. They desire to form all these isolated churches into one great Presbyterian church, represented by the ministers and deputies from their flocks. They go even farther, and would unite all the churches of Germany into one great German church. To accomplish this, they claim the self-regulation, independence, and liberty of the church; seeing that the Erastian element divides, while the Christian element unites.

The official bonds of consistories and civil governments is the starting point, while the goal to which they are hastening is the free institutions of the Presbyterian church. How is the latter point to be reached from the former? Some are of opinion that they have only to break the ties that unite the church to the state, and then allow the church to organize itself as it sees proper; to dissolve all, in order to remodel all. In Germany (I speak merely as an historian

and not as a judge) they think, on the contrary, by what I understand from conversation, that the church must be emancipated by degrees; and that if, after having so long remained in pupilage, it were at once granted the liberty of mature age, it would be exposed to the hazards of disorder, and a dangerous influence would be given to individualizing principles.

The Germans are willing to admit into the church the popular, lay, or Presbyterian element, yet they would retain that which is consistorial, governmental, or regal. They want an ecclesiastical constitution somewhat similar to those political ones, in which the people speak through their representatives, and the crown through its ministers. I also am averse to abrupt leaps, and in favor of successive developments, so long at least as God does not hasten the course of events; yet I am persuaded that in these new ideas of ecclesiastical constitutions, we are making a fatal admixture of politics and religion, of faith and infidelity, and are sacrificing to ancient prejudices the purity, life, self-regulation, and independence of the church.

I have been requested to give some particulars of my visit to a German divine who takes great interest in the new organization of the church. There are certain matters which should be withheld by every traveller, yet there are others which belong to the public, because they characterize the time and the people of whom I am at present speaking. I will therefore say a few words of one of the German theologians, who appears to me the most faithful representative of the present movement, I mean Dr. Ullmann. I saw him at Heidelberg, where I remained about a month, and was often at his house, at the bottom of the pretty hill on which stand the splendid ruins of that ancient and well-known castle. I met him again in the pleasing and delightful walks in the environs of Baden, that little Switzerland; and lastly, in the numerous and imposing assemblies of German Protestantism at Stutgard. Since then Ullmann has visited

Berlin as a member of the evangelical conference, assembled by the king of Prussia. I can the more readily recall the conversations I had with him, as I have since found, in a pamphlet published by him, many things which he said to me. They now belong to the public.

"The agitated period in which we live," said Ullmann, "demands a strong remedy; and the time is now come, if it is ever to come, when we must have recourse to some great measure fit to rebuild the church.

"The objective foundation of the church, (namely that which is out of ourselves,) is Jesus Christ, the Son of Man and the Son of God, Reconciler and Redeemer. The subjective foundation, (namely, that which ought to be found within ourselves,) is the living faith in Christ, by which grace is applied to us; the union with Christ in the Spirit; that union from which proceeds a new life consecrated to God. It is only upon this double foundation, which in reality forms but one, that the church can be rebuilt. The essential always is, that Christ the Redeemer is the source of the new life; and without this primary basis all external improvements are but vanity and nothingness.

"Nevertheless, it is not an indifferent matter, to ascertain what form and what constitution an ecclesiastical society ought to have. There must be for the spirit a corresponding body; the tendency towards what is internal ought not to lead us into a morbid spiritualism. The spirit begets the form, but the form preserves the spirit: faith constitutes the church, but the church nourishes faith. He who would delay giving a constitution to a church until the true spirit is universal therein, would have to wait to the end of time. No: those in whom the true spirit of the church resides—the believers who have received a prophetic glance—should endeavor to find out the form in which the life of the church may best prosper and move forward.

"What the church requires, is not so much a radical and universal remodelling, as a development of the principles of

the Reformation. He who would abandon these principles would break the bonds of union and fall into ecclesiastical radicalism; while, on the other hand, he who will not content himself with essential principles, but would preserve every particular, and every regulation of olden times, would deny the principles of liberty and development, and fall into stabilism or *statu-quo-ism*. Between these two extremes lies the true way, sound historical progress: this is the path which the church should now pursue, as in the days of the Reformation.

"The church is sickly, whence should come its aid?

"Science alone cannot heal it. We possess, in Germany, the richest theology, and yet we have in the church only a most confused, defective life which can by no means satisfy us. Life can only proceed from life.

"But will not help come from the state, from the king?

"To this again me must answer, no. We do not desire a radical separation of church and state; but yet it is evident that there are here two very different spheres. The state cannot administer the powers of redemption and sanctification, and it must allow the church the right of freely developing herself. If the state, if a prince, claims to act in the church, this can only infinitely augment the agitation and the confusion. And even supposing that the state does all that the church would have done, the result would nevertheless be entirely different. The whole duty of a prince is to leave a fair field to the church; for the safety of the church can come only from the church, and through the church.

"In Germany, we find in the church the monarchical system, by virtue of which, in the sixteenth century, the ecclesiastical power was transferred from the bishops to the princes. But by the side of this system there stands another, which, coming originally from Geneva, has been especially realized in Scotland; this is the Representative system, by virtue of which the ecclesiastial power resides in the whole body of the church, and is exercised by the organs she her-

self chooses. Now, the German church must, without rejecting the former of these elements, receive the latter, the representative Presbyterian element. Let us not, through hesitation and anxious delays, allow the decisive moment to pass away. If a man is to learn to swim, he does not throw himself at first into the deepest part of the sea, yet he must go into the water. So it is with the church. We must build up the edifice by degrees; we must build cautiously, so as to leave the different stories time enough to consolidate; but we must begin at once, we must set to work on a fixed plan, in order that the house may, without delay, be built up, raised to the light of day, and ere long even to the corner stone."

Thus spoke Ullmann. I have but few words to add upon the two elements he points out: the Governmental or German element, and the Presbyterian or Genevese. For my own part, I declare myself for the Genevese element purely and simply. We love the Germans much, but in this respect we desire to have nothing in common with them. We will have nothing to do, either with those Germans who place the ecclesiastical authority in the state, or with the Romans who place it in the clergy. We desire to remain true Genevese, who, looking to Christ as the Head of authority to the church, place the church power in the assembly of the faithful, and the exercise of it in the council of ministers and elders.

This is the goal to which Germany is tending, but she will not take any sudden leaps. The eminent man, whose thoughts I have expressed, said nothing to me on this subject; yet this may be gathered from his writings. The administration of the church of Germany is at present wholly gevernmental. Those Germans who wish for successive developments would not have it made entirely Presbyterian; they therefore propose a system half governmental, half Presbyterian; but this is merely a step. The Genevese system will go round the world. May it but be found in Geneva!

May God raise up within her that truly Christian people who are the essence of the church, and without whom the best ecclesiastical constitutions are of no avail; that people who are not the whole multitude of the citizens, but, as the Bible says, "The multitude of them that believe, who are of one heart and one soul;"* that people who having attained their majority, well know how to choose of their elders and pastors, without being obliged to have recourse to the guardianship of municipalities.† If the Christian world can say that this system was once born in Geneva in the sixteenth century, may it be able to say, that in the nineteenth it was there born again; otherwise, there will be a medicine that formerly grew within our own walls, everywhere in use, except among ourselves. "Physician, heal thyself," saith the Bible.

"The part of the prince," said Ullmann, "is to leave a fair field to the church." Princes easily forget this. They like to grasp and mould in their iron hand, the spiritual interests of the church. It has been reserved to our times to furnish a deplorable instance of this usurpation. The civil power of Russia is employed in converting to the Greek church, not only Roman Catholics, but also the poor Protestants of Livonia.‡ I hope that in Germany, on the contrary, the princes will feel more and more convinced that they should leave to God all that appertains to God. It is observable that at this very time God has bestowed upon that German state, which takes the lead of the others, a prince, not only

* Acts, iv. 32.

† By the constitution of 1842, the election of elders was vested in the municipality of Geneva. The constitution of 1847 grants it to all the people who possess political rights.

‡ Some exact and interesting information will be found at the end of this volume (Note A.), concerning the great work undertaken by the Greek church, supported by government, to abolish Protestantism in the German provinces of Russia, and to bring the worshippers of Jesus Christ to the feet of the Virgin and the Saints.

of an exalted intellect, but of a piety capable of understanding and sharing in the wants and wishes of the church.

With this prince (the king of Prusia) is associated one of the most pleasing recollections of my visit to Germany. Having arrived on Saturday the 2d of August, at Coblentz, on my return from England, I went to pass the night at the village of Lahnstein, delightfully situated on the right bank of the river, at the confluence of the Lahn and the Rhine, opposite to the castle of Stolzenfels, where the king of Prussia was awaiting the arrival of the queen of England. I shall never forget that evening. The Prussian flag was floating from the highest tower of that superb fortress; and the whole village of Stolzenfels, which extends along the river, was adorned with garlands, and filled with eager crowds. The cannon, which re-echoed from hill to hill, announcing every moment the approach of the king, who was returning from an evening excursion in his steam-boat—the heights that closed in the horizon, everywhere crowned with noble ruins, amidst which arose, in queen-like majesty, the picturesque walls of the castle of Stolzenfels, which the king has so admirably restored: that proud and noble river, impetuous but without fury, wild but majestic; sweeping the boats and the reedy shore with his flowing mane, "his oozy beard," as Boileau calls it,—the noise of which is a loud but gentle roar, not unlike the mighty sea; the quiet of the evening, the coolness of the river, the first shades of night,—formed a spectacle which we could not contemplate without emotion, and which raised us to communion with the mighty works of God in nature. A great poet (Victor Hugo) has said, "The Rhone awakens in my mind the idea of the tiger, the Rhine that of a lion." I know not if we, who dwell on the banks of the Rhone, will allow of the former comparison, but the latter is a correct one.

I learnt, that on the following day the chapel royal was to be consecrated, and that there would be no other evangelical service. I therefore asked permission of the minister

of the king's household to attend it; and in the morning I repaired thither with the friend who was travelling with me. We were introduced by the captain of the guard. "Even as this ancient castle has arisen from its ruins in all the splendor of modern times," said the officiating minister, "so is the ancient Christian worship to-day established within this chapel, in all the Gospel light of the new times." After service, while remaining in that modern Gothic chapel to examine its beauty, the king condescended to invite me to go on the terrace where he was. In the brightest morning of last year, under one of the lofty arches of those magnificent terraces which encircle the castle, where every thing is perfect in coolness and beauty, looking out on the finest view of the banks of the Rhine, I found the king, the queen, and their court. I will not repeat the conversation I had with his majesty. He did not speak of Germany; I cannot therefore say, from my own knowledge, what are his views on the subjects I have mentioned above; and even had he spoken of them, I should not tell what passed. The fashion of repeating whatever the personages we meet with in our travels may have said, and of describing their personal appearance, will long, I hope, among us be considered as a mark of indiscretion, even when a king is concerned. I can only say that, in my interview, I had an opportunity of verifying the words of the wise man, "there is grace in the mouth of a king." It was his father's birth-day. I was not aware of it; and having spoken of the late king with an expression of gratitude for Geneva, his son started and looked up. This sudden touch of filial emotion affected me. We saw all the castle, and afterwards its delightful environs, even the old stone which marks the spot where, in ancient times, the electors of the empire used to assemble by the rivers's side, in a simple and rustic manner, to exercise their august functions.

With any other prince than the king of Prussia, the wish of the church to be freed from governmental leading-strings,

would, no doubt, have been greeted with a decided refusal; let us hope that it will not be so now. Yet, let us acknowledge how difficult is the position of a king, and not be too ready to accuse him, as is the wont of men who are always exacting, and always unsatisfied. During his reign the bark of the church, and the bark of the state, are both about to launch into an unknown sea: may the Lord be the pilot to steer them through the numerous shoals!

VI.

THE GERMAN CATHOLIC QUESTION.

The first step taken by Germany to free herself from the isolation which had hitherto characterized her, was the foundation of a vast society including all Protestants. The second was the formation of evangelical Presbyterian churches in all the countries of Germany—churches which will be united by common bonds. Yet a third step might be taken. A great part of Germany is still Roman Catholic: to establish a complete unity, it would be therefore necessary to amalgamate the Romish and the Protestant parts into one church. This, in the opinion of many, is to be effected by the late German Catholic movement. I do not coincide with this opinion myself, yet I must own, that this third step might be practicable, and even desirable; and in any case, I cannot take leave of Germany without adding a few words on German Catholicism.

I did not see it in its centre, in Silesia and Brandenburg. I did not visit the place where this new blast had raised the storm. I only saw a few of its waves breaking at my feet. Nevertheless, the very countries in which I saw it, are those in which it is now exciting public attention to the greatest degree. You are aware that in the Grand Duchy of Baden, numerous petitions have been signed, both for and against

religious liberty ; as it is not on the shores of our lake alone* that worldly men are not ashamed to attack that first of all rights.

At Manheim, the new church, now in a flourishing condition, was just forming when I passed through it. It is a gay and worldly town. "Why," said some one to a Roman Catholic, "do not you, who are opposed to the priests and the pope, join the German Catholic Church?"—"For two reasons," was the reply. "The first, because I should have to go to church, and I had rather amuse myself; the second, that I should have to give money, and I had rather keep it." These are some of the motives that keep the adherents of the pope faithful to their standard.

While I was at Heidelberg, the new church had neither priest nor minister; the members celebrated divine worship among themselves. "I must own to you," said one of these, "that up to the time (a month ago), when I joined the German Catholic church, I had never opened the Bible; but I read it now." This person, who had been reading the Bible "for a month," was a teacher in these meetings!

At Stutgard, the capital of Wurtemberg, I attended, at seven o'clock on Sunday morning, the worship of this new church in the Reformed chapel. There were very few women, but many men; several, no doubt, strangers like myself. I observed very little seriousness before the service began; they were standing in groups, and even talking somewhat loudly. It was more like the commencement of a political or literary meeting, than of one for religious worship.

At length the priest, having put on his canonicals in a corner of the building, came and stood before the altar, which was somewhat shabbily ornamented with garlands, tapers, and a picture. He was a tall, stout, red-faced man, with a drawling tone and coarseness of manner, which are not uncommonly found in the Romish clergy. He told us

* The Canton of Vaud, and the persecutions of the Free Church there.

he knew the papacy well, for he had been a priest twenty-five years, which was plain enough to be seen.

The only satisfactory part of this worship was the singing: it was almost too good, but the words were not very Christian; even what was sung during the Lord's Supper, or the mass (in which four persons, one of whom was a soldier, took part), celebrated Christ merely as a model. God was the "universal father" (Allvater). The sermon was pretty long, inveighing against Rome, principally as to confession, but I could discern in it no trace of a truly evangelical spirit.

Let us now inquire, what is the religion of this new church? Is it Catholicism? Is it Evangelism? Or is it something new?

Is it Catholicism, as we might be led to think, by the name this church has taken? Rejecting the narrow and sectarian Catholicism of the Council of Trent, and even that wider and less definite, though equally superstitious one of the middle ages, it might indeed fall back upon the Catholicism of the earlier periods, the Catholicism of Augustin and Cyprian, as a powerful party in the Anglican church professes to do. But this has not been done in Germany. It must, in that case, have adopted the Nicean and Athanasian creeds, the doctrines of Irenæus and Augustin, while it will not have even the Apostles' Creed. And as for church government, the episcopal aristocracy and strict discipline of the early ages would be most distasteful to these new Catholics. These, then, have nothing to do with the re-establishment of primitive Catholicism.

Are they, then, simply an evangelical church, similar to those formed by the Reformation in the sixteenth century? By no means. They reject the name, for they are tenacious of the appellation of *Catholic;* they reject the faith, for they dislike the creeds of the sixteenth century, still more than those of the fourth. Lastly, they reject the com-

munion, for they will not amalgamate with the Protestant church; they are determined to be an isolated sect.

But as they belong to neither of these great manifestations, being neither Catholic nor Evangelical, are they, then, something new? What, it is not enough to say that you are no Papist! Begin, if you will, by pulling down the old building, and throwing away the mouldering stones and rotten beams; sweep the rubbish out of your way, but then build up something, lay a foundation, erect a better edifice,—that is an essential thing. This, it must be owned, is the weak side of the new community; we cannot see what it sets up in the room of what it overturns.

We might be tempted to think that it establishes mere morality in the place of faith. *Humanity* and *love* are what they generally talk about in all these churches; and it seems that faith is to be left to each congregation, even to each individual, as being merely a private affair. This is an error which unfortunately is not uncommon elsewhere. But the Theophilanthropists of Laveveillère Lépeaux, at the end of the French Revolution, did not last long. To try to found a church upon morality, would be like pretending to plant a tree composed of fruits alone, and which should have neither stem nor roots.

Of all the numerous congregations of German Catholicism, there are three, and no more, if I do not mistake, who cling to the religion of God; those of Schneidemühle, Berlin, and Elberfeld. They have preserved the Holy Trinity, the Father Almighty; His only Son, very God, having the same nature and the same essence with the Father, by whom all things were made, who became man and died for us; and, lastly, belief in the Holy Ghost, who is to be worshipped and glorified together with the Father and the Son. But most of the other churches—all, indeed, to the best of my recollection—have turned aside to Rationalism. When Ronge appeared in the east of Switzerland, he said—"The Protestants have rejected the pope, but they have set up another

pope in his place—the Bible!" Would to God that were everywhere the case! Since that time he has more openly professed infidelity.

The confession of Leipsic, the only one recognized by the whole of German Catholicism, confesses simply: "Belief in God, the Creator and Preserver of the world; in Jesus Christ our Saviour, in the Holy Ghost, in the Christian church universal, in the remission of sins, and in life everlasting." In this confession it is not even said that Jesus is the Son of God,—He may be a mere man; nothing is said of His work of expiation and reconciliation, of sin, of condemnation, of the fall, of justification, of regeneration, and of sanctification. It has been said of the confession of Leipsic, that it is a frame without a picture; perhaps that may come afterwards, but as yet it is a mere blank.

And what will be the constitution of the new church? This we may conceive from what took place at the first provincial synod of Silesia, which decided that the clergy have no voice in church councils, and may not be deputed to the provincial synods. On the 17th of August, 1845, they abolished the pastoral duties, and granted votes to widows, wives, and young girls. (Evang. Kirchen. Zeit., 1846, p. 13.) Ecclesiastical radicalism can go no farther.

Let us follow the new apostles in their mission. We hear them speak enthusiastically of enlightenment, liberty, charity, and patriotism; but very little of Jesus Christ dead, raised to life, and glorified with God in heaven. In their meetings we see nothing of the holy gravity of the apostles and reformers; but in their stead we find enlivening music, numerous banquets, and noisy toasts. Some have therefore expressed a fear that all this stir will come to nothing in the end, but to organize a society of good fellows, a jovial anti-papistical club, which will last as long as there is sparkling Champagne to fill their glasses.

No, this is not the soil on which churches are erected. A church is proved by struggles, sacrifices, trials, and per-

secutions. Before the judgment seat, and in dungeons—not at tables covered with wines and loaded with delicacies—does a new church receive her baptism.

The new Catholicism is not a church, but an anti-ecclesiastical movement. It has been called a new Free-Masonry: a severe expression, the justice of which time alone can show. Doubtless, we must not judge of a work by its first beginnings. The Holy Spirit may act upon these masses, and bring forth from them children of God, able to form a true church. We hope—we pray—that it may be so; but we speak according to human probabilities. If a tree is to extend its grateful foliage, there must be a germ fitted to produce that tree, otherwise it cannot spring up; and as yet, if we except three or four of the congregations of the German Catholic church, we may search in vain for that living germ which is sufficient to form a church of Jesus Christ. To no purpose do we traverse the different countries where it has been formed; we see none of those men of great faith—of that faith which God bestows when he would form or regenerate the church—those Luthers or Calvins, those Pauls or Peters, those rocks which serve to raise up the new edifice.

The most probable destiny of German Catholicism is a union with the Protestant rationalism of the Friends of Light. The old Reformation and the new will thus cross each other. While the many rationalists in the Protestant church will leave it to unite with the new Catholicism, the three or four Christian congregations of the new Catholicism will come out from it to join the Evangelical church, then purified from the infidel elements it yet contains. There will thus be in Germany three great communions with well marked and well defined characteristics—Evangelism, or the religion of God; Popery, or the religion of the priest; Rationalism, or the religion of fallen man.

M. Gervinus, a Heidelberg doctor, has recently taken upon himself to predict a new church, and to announce the

fusion of all churches into one vast religious community, of which German Catholicism is to be the forerunner. He styles Goëthe, Voss, Wieland, Schiller, Lessing, Herder (all of them, more or less, decided rationalists of the eighteenth century), the "reformers of a new Reformation," and asserts, that "the seed sown by them, having grown up in the numberless attractive forms of poetry, and in the countless works on science, has penetrated into religion, and reanimated it with the amiable and humane spirit of antiquity."

It may, perhaps, come to this; German Catholicism may, perchance, only give to Protestant Rationalism the strength to constitute itself into a regular community. But let us take heed how we think that evangelical Christianity will be absorbed into that vague and indifferent society which is to bring back the spirit of pagan antiquity. No! the essential revelations of Christianity will still subsist; the life of faith which God produces in the heart will yet continue to animate innumerable souls. The church may, perhaps, once more become a poor, unknown, and despised sect; but was not her Head, during his sojourn on the earth, contemned as a sectarian and a stranger? There will yet be seven thousand men who have not bowed the knee to this new Baal, one aspect of which reminds us of the times of Aristophanes and of Horace, the other of those of Voltaire and of Frederic.

However this may be, Germany is stirring; Germany is moving. It might long have been thought that she was sacrificing every thing to science—theological science; that this was her only air, her *ne plus ultra*. But it is not so. I have been in company with the most learned men, and have always found them firmly persuaded that Germany must pass through successive developments; that the labors of theological science are necessary to her; and yet, that this labor and science are to lead to two ends—to doctrine and to life.

It has often been said at Geneva and in France, "Why do you busy yourself so much about the church, about doctrine and life? That is what the English, the Methodists do;

but look at the Germans, who are far more learned in these matters, they do not stir." This can be said no longer. The Germans *are* stirring—they are interesting themselves about doctrine, the church and the Christian life; they are rising in their turn. This is a very recent fact of great importance in the development of the kingdom of God. May we be enabled to understand it! While they are rising, shall we lie still? Shall we remain in that mean and narrow bed which the last century made us? When all are stirring, shall we alone continue to slumber?

Germany seems to have forgotten the call she received from God three centuries ago, and now she suddenly recollects it. She starts up, and again finds her Melancthons, if she no longer finds a Luther. She is moving upon the field of the church, after having appeared to move solely upon that of philosophy and the arts.

Honor to the people who remember their history, their fathers, their destiny, their calling, their work! Honor to Germany who remembers hers!

But has Geneva no history? Has she no fathers, no work, no destiny, no calling?

I trust that in this rising generation, to which we must soon give place, there may be some who will remember it. I trust that young men, firm in the faith, will undertake, amidst so many struggles, and in spite of so many adverse influences, to build up the temple of God. And as I have seen the flag of Wurtemberg waving from the towers of its metropolis, and the colors of Brandenburg floating over the picturesque battlements of Stolzenfels, so I trust that from these ancient towers of St. Peter, at the base of which we are now met, we may soon (I speak figuratively) behold the banner of Jesus Christ, of Jesus—Man, God, and Saviour; so that the whole world may know that new Geneva has hoisted on her turrets the standard of ancient days, which is that of the new times, of the everlasting ages.

CHAPTER II.

ENGLAND.

1. Arrival. Salutation. Revolution now in progress. Error. The Sectarian System. The Latitudinarian. The Christian. Popery. The Gardener of the State.—2. Entry into London. Bustle. Practical Tendency. The Common People. Public Men. The Youth. Equality and Liberty. Wealth. Country Seats and Shops. The Aristocracy. British Enthusiasm. Hospitality. Discipline and Piety.—3. Bondage to the Comfortable and the Fashionable. The Merit of Wealth and Power. Puritanism and Worldliness. Christianity should be manifested in the Flesh. Evils of large Properties. An Exception. The Sites. Grandeur of the Manufacturing and Mercantile Towns. The reverse of the Medal. A human Form in the Strand. A Story in a Sermon. Want of popular Instruction. Drs. Sack and Luke.—4. Conscientiousness of a People. Religion necessary to England. Service at Cambridge. Fear of God among the People. The Divine Law or Duty. Sunday in Britain. The Railroads and the Sunday. Puseyism proceeds from the same Principle.—5. The Articles. Doctrine and Life. Religious Meetings. Capacity of the British. Explosions of Eloquence. The Lions of Meetings in Scotland and England. Preachers.—6. Christian Union. Breakfast at Liverpool. The Bishop and the London Missions. Westminster and the Presbyterians. Hanover Square Rooms and Finsbury Chapel.—7. Reformation in the Church of England. Communion at Geneva. Strength of the Evangelical Party. Two Revolutions:—In Theological Instruction, and in Church Government. Convocations. The Shadows. Preservation and Transformation. Reform. Intervention of Members of the Church. Necessity of Ecclesiastical Institutions. Two Armies against Rome. Confidence and Error.

I.

RELIGION AND THE PEOPLE.

I EMBARKED at Ostend, and quitted the Continent. We soon came in sight of the white cliffs and chalky hills of

Kent. Here, in the Isle of Thanet, the first Saxons landed; farther on, at Hastings, landed William the Conqueror; at Dover, Cæsar disembarked; and there also, at the foot of its ancient castle, I stepped on shore, and some thousands do the like every month. In five hours I had come from Ostend to Dover, and soon after I reached London by railroad.

For nearly thirty years, England was incessantly eulogized in a religious point of view. Now the wind has changed, and loud complaints are raised against her. No doubt there is some reason for them: Puseyism is a fearful manifestation. Yet let us not go into either extreme; let us not be ultras in any way; let us be grateful, let us be just. For my own part, I confess, that on setting my foot on the soil of England, a thrill came over me:—"Hail to thee, ancient land of Wickliffe, Latimer, and Tindal; for ages thou hast been the bulwark of Reformation! Within thee have been wonderfully preserved, for these three hundred years, the holy doctrines of grace! More than once, hast thou proudly stood forth among the nations a representative of the religion of the Word of God! Thy mighty hand has scattered the sacred writings over every country of the earth, and thy ships have carried to all nations, even to the most distant isles of the sea, the messengers of peace! No, we will not forget thee! Who could ever forget the children thou hast brought up, quickened by the spirit which comes down from the Head; Owen, Flavel, Baxter, Bunyan, John Newton, Scott, Cecil, Simeon, and so many more in whom the Church of God rejoices? Surely the fount of blessings which has sprung from thee, can never be dried up, and the whole world may still come and joyfully drink of it!"

But for this purpose, one thing is necessary. A great revolution is now taking place in the political destiny of England.* The old Toryism is falling; the Church of Eng-

* This was written during the last days of Sir Robert Peel's Ministry.

land privileges are threatened; the form of the state is changing. It is remarkable too, that it is not the adversaries of the ancient principles who are bringing them to the dust, but the chiefs themselves, their most illustrious supporters. In this movement, there are, in our opinion, some errors which ought to be pointed out and opposed; but there is also something which must run its course. There is a progress of history, there are developments of time which no human hand is able to stop.

But if the state is changing, will the church maintain the same position? Can this be thought a possibility? If an edifice has leaned upon a pillar, and that pillar has been removed, must it not seek another support? The support of the state is taken from the church of England; she must seek for strength elsewhere, or her ruin is not far off.

This strength she must seek in that faith in Jesus, which in her articles she confesses with such purity, in the Christian life of her members, and their sympathy with all that concerns her. Her strength lies no longer in parliament, or in the bench of Bishops; but in the benches of Christian men, of Christian families, of Christian churches. The religious community must have strength within itself, and not through the powers of the civil community.

The danger which now threatens the church of England is one of the greatest to which it has ever been exposed. Some of her most eminent sons are bowing down at Rome before idols; the deserters are on the increase; most of her bishops are silent, or connive at this apostasy; many even of those ministers who were considered evangelical, though they still protest against Rome, are rushing into human and superstitious fancies, which are half-way towards Popery. This is a deplorable weakness, which would raise a shudder among those holy men whom this church once reckoned as her leaders. If, while the state is accomplishing an immense revolution, the church remains dumb and motionless, or clings to what is slipping from her grasp; if there is nei-

ther animation, courage, nor resolution, except in those who are turning towards the pope; if those who ought to seek the salvation of the church in the Christian doctrine, in the Christian people, in independence of the kings of the earth, and in submission to the King of Heaven, exhibit nothing but timidity, prejudice, fear, bigotry, and listlessness, then we must indeed fear, that the ruin of the church of England is at hand. And that tribute of admiration which burst from my lips the moment the white cliffs of Albion rose to my view,—must I, alas! if ever I return,—must I bestow it on her grave?

Is the revolution now going on in England, taking a right direction?

I think that some revolution was necessary, but not that one which the politicians of England propose.

Hitherto, in England, the state has been Anglican, Episcopal; it has attached itself to one special confession, has espoused all its interests, and during a long period has protected it by oppressing and persecuting all other Christian confessions. Thus, in the very midst of Protestantism, scenes of intolerance have been witnessed, similar to those exhibited in the middle ages.

It is now felt that this narrow and sectarian system can no longer be the system of the state; but what can be substituted for it? an equal favor of the state towards all religions, even the most opposed and the most contradictory. The state would thus alike maintain Protestantism and Popery, Judaism and Islamism; perhaps, even all kinds of Paganism. If politicians do not proceed quite so far in their application, the principles they profess would lead to this.

If the state seemed at first too narrow-minded, it now appears too latitudinarian. What then should it be?

There is one solution for which some on the Continent, at least, loudly clamor. It is proposed that the state should be atheistical. That, indeed, removes every difficulty; but we can no more admit of this solution, than of the other

two. We believe that the more a people and its government are brought under the influence of Christianity, the more their prosperity, both moral and temporal, will be found to increase. We demand the self-regulation of the church; we claim her independence of all the powers of the world: yet we would not have the atheism of the state, which finds defenders, on the Continent at least, among men who are eminently religious.

Can a state, placed in the midst of Christendom, abstract itself from a fact so important as Christianity? This is impossible.

If, as Scripture asserts, "*Righteousness exalteth a nation,*" it means, plainly, not uprightness in a restricted sense, as maintained by police officers, but that righteousness which has for its basis the love and the fear of God.

Religion cannot, therefore, be an indifferent matter to a nation. There is a something which a people must desire to see flourishing among them; but this *something* is not a particular ecclesiastical form, a particular feature which distinguishes one sect from another; it is the Christian religion itself.

The animal which feeds upon nuts knows how to crack the shell, throw it away, and feed on the kernel; will a nation do the contrary? Will it throw away the inner part of Christianity, and feed upon the husks?

We do not require the state to be either episcopal, presbyterian, or congregationalist; we do not see what advantage it could gain by this. But we wish, that the essential principles of Christianity should be within the soul of every individual, of every family, of every institution, and of the whole people; and among the people we reckon, in the first place, those who govern them.

We do not think that either the episcopal, the presbyterian, or the congregational form, can impart a superior influence to the state,—that is, taking the word in its widest sense, to the people at large. No, it must be the very es-

sence of Christianity,—divine life, true evangelism. Now, this may be found in any of these forms.

If a king is called upon to give battle, will he, in order to gain the victory, take a fancy to some particular uniform, setting aside the man himself with the strength which God has given him? Certainly not. The great evil of the church and of the state also, has been the preference of the *form* to the *life*.

Wherever we see form occupying the chief place, we will boldly declare war against it.

But it will be said, If the state is not to attach itself to a strictly confessional principle, it must then welcome all creeds, the Roman Catholic in particular?

The English government proposes, they say, to receive Popery among the religions calculated to make the British people flourish; and will, in consequence, enter into communication with the pope, and give salaries to his clergy.

But if the Gospel alone can render a people prosperous, how can they enter into alliance with its most deadly foe? Are not the great principles of evangelical Christianity, "The Word of God alone—the grace of Christ alone—the regeneration of the Spirit alone," altogether rejected by Popery?

Besides, we have already said that the state should receive no form whatsoever; but is Popery, in its essence, anything but a form? The external church, the pope, and relations with the pope, are not these the chief objects at Rome? Does not ecclesiasticism hold there the place of religion? does not legalism take the place of morality?

Let the state beware! Popery is less a religion than a state. The papacy everywhere tends to constitute itself a state within the state. We know that it is yet far from its object; but let us be patient! we are clearing the road for it. With politicians so short-sighted, as some of those who have, in other respects, justly acquired the highest reputa-

tion in Europe, Popery will quickly make its way. The state talks of finding another ally, but it will receive a master.

Let us, then, remember Christ's words, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." Let not the state, like Uzziah, put forth its hands to sustain the ark, even if the oxen stumble; but let every man among the people, and especially their governors, seek, each for himself, that kingdom of God which is righteousness, and peace, and joy, in the Holy Ghost. These will be the surest means of bringing spiritual blessings on the country. To the living church of Christ belongs the labor, to the state will belong the fruits. It is not the tree itself, but the gardener who "digs about it and dungs it." Now, the gardener of the state, the gardener who raises the finest fruits, is the church. I do not mean to discuss in this place the exact relations which should subsist between the two societies,—I will enter into this when I speak of Scotland,—but I may say here that I like to distinguish between the temporal and the spiritual, and attribute to each of them its proper sphere; and that, as I would not have the church discharge the functions of the state, I would not have the state discharge the functions of the church. "Every one shall bear his own burden," saith the Scripture.

Let but the church be what she ought to be; let her draw from her stem a life of her own; let her develop herself with vigor and independence; let her remember that, like her Master, she is come to minister: then will fairer days than those gone by be granted to the church of Christ in England, and to all her people. Life will then proceed from the roots, and the tree will flourish once more.

II.

THE ENGLISH.

But I perceive that I have taken too lofty a flight. I must be allowed to return to my humble character of a traveller,

and seat myself in the noisy and rapid train, which bears me with the swiftness of an arrow along the railroad from Dover to London.

On approaching the capital, my wondering eyes looked down from the carriage into innumerable narrow streets of small houses, all of uniform and mean appearance, blackened with coal-dust and shrouded by a smoky atmosphere. Such is the gloomy avenue which leads to the delightful parks of the metropolis, its superb squares, magnificent bazaars, and rich palaces.

What crowds in the streets, what bustle, what hurry! These carriages, public and private, almost as numerous as the foot passengers; that dazzling display of every production of British industry, and of the most distant lands; those forests of ships, motionless in their immense docks; the steam-boats, which, like a weaver's shuttle, incessantly ply up and down the Thames with inconceivable rapidity, taking up and setting down at every pier a fresh cargo of breathless passengers,—every thing you behold tells you that you are now in the capital of the commercial world.

If the German feeds upon the ideal, the practical is the characteristic of Great Britain; I say, Britain, because most of what I say here of England is applicable to Scotland also. Reality, action, business, bear sway in the politics, the industry, the commerce, and, I will even say, in the religion of the English. Yet this practical tendency which characterizes England is not selfish, as might have been expected. The large scale on which the people work gives a certain scope and grandeur to the imagination. The habit which the English have of forming into parties, and of looking constantly at themselves as a nation, is opposed to a narrow selfishness; and a more elevated sentiment struggles with this vice in a large portion of the people.

Perhaps, one of the things that strikes a stranger the most on his arrival in London, is not the nobility but the common people; their strength, their energy, their quick-

ness, their skill, their civility, and, above all, their calmness and silence during their unceasing activity. They are all alive to what they are about, and they are clever at it; you can see this in the carriages, the ships, and especially in the railroads. The skill with which an English coachman drives you through the streets of London, among thousands of vehicles, without ever jostling you, is inconceivable.

The day after my arrival in London, I visited the ancient seat of our friend M——, built in the time of Elizabeth. The railroad took me a certain distance, where I had to find a carriage to take me on to L—— Park; but what on the Continent might perhaps have occupied an hour, was here done in an instant. In less than a minute all our luggage was lifted from the train into the carriage, and the Fly was winging its way towards the park.

If I speak thus of the common people, what shall I say of the statesmen of England, of her sailors, of her warriors? —of that character of simplicity and grandeur which strikes every impartial beholder, and of which they have lately given such remarkable instances?* The constitution of Great Britain, the balance of her powers, the slow but sure energy of the universal thought of the people,—all this is so beautiful, that we cannot but recognize the Master-hand. But I did not leave the Continent to study the wondrous mechanism of this state. I, therefore, content myself with saluting it respectfully as I pass on. I think myself fortunate to have been present at the debates in the Houses of Parliament. I will only add, that if the political institutions of England, by conducing to her power and glory, have been of incalculable benefit to all mankind, this has proceeded from their having held within them a higher living principle, the religion of Him who has said, "I will make you free indeed."

I observed in England one thing, that the people talk much less of liberty than we do on the Continent, but practise it

* I allude to the late war in India.

more. This is quite natural: when we possess a thing, we mention it less frequently than when we are in search of it. The young men, who play so important a part in Germany, and even in France and other countries, do not so in England. It is not for want of spirit in the English youth—they have even rather too much; but it is confined in the preparatory sphere of schools and colleges, and does not display itself in public business. Influential institutions satisfy this people. The young men know that their turn will come, and they wait quietly. Among a people deprived of public institutions, vigor is often misplaced; it is forced forward in youth and exhausted in riper years. In England, on the contrary, it is disciplined in youth and exerted in manhood. On the continent, paternal authority is much shaken; in Britain, the parents, generally speaking, know how to keep their children at a respectful distance; and this is a great element of strength for a nation. When the Bible would pronounce a threat against a people, it says, "I will give them children to be their princes, and babes shall rule over them."* This curse has been but too well fulfilled among many nations. When the unfortunate Legislative Assembly was convened in France after the Constituent Assembly, the multitude of extremely young men was notorious; and when the president by seniority, in order to form the provisional committee, called upon the deputies, who had not yet completed their twenty-sixth year, to come forward, sixty youths crowded round the tribune, competing for the office of Secretary to the Assembly.† This predominance of youth is an evil which, thank God, is still far removed from England.

The French writers assert with pride that, while in England there is liberty but not equality, in France there is equality but not liberty.‡ We cannot help thinking that England is right. God would have liberty for all; but equality, which

* Isaiah, iii. 4.

† Les Girondins, by M. de Lamartine.

‡ This thesis was maintained by the Journal des Débats in May, 1847, appropos of religious liberty.

would bring all men to the same level, is but an idle dream. No doubt the French writers do not claim equality in every respect, but we regret that they set such bounds to the principle of liberty.

It is, nevertheless, in these very marked distinctions, which prevent equality, that one of England's dangers lies. If there is too much equality on the south of the Channel, there may be too little on the north. The distinctions of rank and fortune are, perhaps, exaggerated in Britain; and were it not for that vital Christianity, which is a powerful remedy for this evil, the whole people would be seriously affected by it. But the Gospel corrects the defects of institutions. Before God all are equal; all have the same sin, the same salvation, whatever be their intellect, their wealth, or their rank. Noble and learned, low and ignorant, rich and poor, all say together, "Have mercy upon us, miserable sinners."* I am aware that this is with some persons a mere form, but I also know that with many it is a solemn reality. I do not think there is any aristocracy which, like that of England, contains so many nobles who are *men*,—who are Christians.

And yet, to what an extent are wealth and aristocracy developed! By them I have been so struck, that I must pause upon these two features which characterize Great Britain.

First, as to her wealth. In the eighteenth century, England had already become the chief mart of the world; she is now, moreover, the largest workshop. Nothing can be said against her wealth; it is the reward of her labor and of her works. She wears her greatness well. Her rich men make an admirable use of the wealth which God has entrusted to them. It is not in hundreds or by thousands of francs, but in sums of twenty-five or fifty thousand, that money is given in England for benevolent or evangelical purposes. And, moreover, the men in Britain, who owe all their fortune to themselves, have not those upstart manners so often met with on the Continent. They are both great and simple. They

* In the public worship of England.

practise an amiable hospitality, the charm of which I have often experienced. I have visited country seats, adorned with all the graces of architecture, containing spacious and imposing apartments, and built in the most delightful situations, a flag flying from their highest towers; and the next day, being in the neighboring town, I have entered the warehouse of the owner, which he could survey with pride as the source of all his greatness, and found him unostentatiously exhibiting his goods to us, and cordially pressing us to accept some remembrance.

On another occasion, I was in what was almost a palace, situated near a large mercantile town. The master led me from his villa to his carriage, and from his carriage to his warehouses, an immense building, not only all the rooms of which, but even all the stories, communicated with each other by a kind of well, in which a movable cabinet, without any fatigue to yourself, carried you rapidly up or down to whatever floor you desired. This is a staircase often met with in such establishments, and very agreeable to asthmatic patients.

I mentioned another feature. In Britain, of all the countries in the earth, the nobility have the most power. The king or queen is but the key-stone of the aristocracy. This aristocracy, also, wears its greatness well. There is in the manners of the great ones of England, a nobleness, a grace, a simplicity, an exquisite perfume of sociability, and a regard for their inferiors in the social scale, which wins every heart. There is among the English, especially among the aristocracy, a physical beauty celebrated all over the world, and with which the moral beauty of the mind is often in harmony. These nobles have not merely, like those of some other nations, an external polish, but there is within them an internal grace, a politeness of the soul.

In other respects the English aristocracy appears to me no less admirable. When we behold elsewhere the frightful

tyranny which Radicalism sets up,* we can understand the mischief it would do in England, if ever it were triumphant; and we are inclined to regard the aristocracy, which there exercises such strength, as one of the necessary guarantees for freedom. I was present eight or nine years ago in the Hanover Square Rooms, at crowded meetings, among which were the flower of the English aristocracy, the leaders of the Tory party; and where, on sofas placed at the foot of the platform, were seated princes of the Royal Family, ministers of state, and bishops. The speaker who electrified these large meetings was Chalmers, that prince of British orators. Sometimes energetic words in favor of political liberty, and of the independence of the church, fell from his burning lips; for he was then bearing witness in London, in the Queen's Concert Room, to the same truths which, five years after, he maintained in the rustic hall of the Cannon Mills at Edinburgh. He alluded to the saying, so famous in England, that every Englishman's house is his castle; he repeated those well-known words, that no one has a right to enter it: "The king cannot—the king dare not." And then, returning suddenly to the church, he declared that the political power could not meddle with her doctrine and her spiritual administration; and thus, taking his stand as it were at the door of the church, he hurled forth these words, which resounded like thunder through the assembly: "The king cannot—the king dare not." When Chalmers had thus spoken in the honor of true liberty before this English aristocracy, think not that murmurs were heard around; no, there was unbounded applause. Loud acclamations arose from this multitude of noblemen and Tories; and when this cheering had finished, it began again, and was thus three times renewed. I then saw the fine and venerable head of the Duke of Cambridge, the queen's uncle, nodding with an expression of the most cordial acquiescence. I was confounded. "How magical," thought I, "is eloquence!"—

* This was written after the revolution of the Canton de Vaud.

"Do you know," said I, as I went out, to a Tory friend who accompanied me, "that if on the Continent, even in France, they were to hear this applause given, such homage rendered to liberty, they would think themselves, I am certain, in a conventicle of Carbonari." I remember St——n's smile as he somewhat proudly replied, "It is the Tories, who are in England the guardians of liberty."

Liberty is, in fact, the passion of every Englishman. What Tacitus said of the Britons, is still characteristic of them. "They respect power, but they cannot suffer the abuse of it. They know how to obey, but not how to serve."*

Such, then, are these common people, so full of intelligence and activity; these rich men, so simple and so generous; these nobles, so amiable and so fond of liberty. It is a remarkable nation which is the result of such an assemblage. What enthusiasm among all classes of this people for great ideas! It is ideas, indeed, which thrill this people when a foreigner, whose name is linked with some principle or some illustration, comes to visit them. It matters not whether he belongs to the highest or to the lowest degree of the social scale. We know how they welcomed Marshal Soult, who had fought against England, but who was in their eyes the personification of French glory; and humble and obscure individuals have also been received with unheard of kindness, merely because their names were considered by our insular friends as attached to some great idea,—to that, for instance, of the Reformation. In this respect, I will not say merely, that England surpasses the Continent; there is nothing like it among us. Our people are, as it were, insensible and dead, while the people of Great Britain are full of feeling and life. It is a nation complete in all its parts; our nations, in this respect, are mutilated. It is true that Germany begins to present some manifestations of this kind; but it is to be regretted that they are not in the best of causes.

It is not the masses merely, that give this warm welcome

* "Ut pareant nondum ut serviant." Tacit. Agr. 13.

to a stranger; what shall I say of that frank hospitality which is met with throughout England and Scotland? It is true, that in Britain every house is more closed to what is without, than is the case in France and in Germany. But even this circumstance gives more liberty and independence within. When once a stranger is received into a house, he becomes a member of the family; he meets with the same freedom, the same cordiality. I met with no strangers in England and Scotland; everywhere I found friends and brothers.

In these houses you are struck with the order and discipline that reigns throughout; and at the same time, if it is a Christian household, with the excellent spirit that pervades all. I have been occasionally present at the dwelling of a nobleman, or of a merchant, or of a bishop, and sometimes of a plain minister, at the morning or evening worship. You may see a score of servants, male and female, come in to the room like a file of soldiers; at the end of the march they turn round, as regularly as a regiment of the line, and sit down. But together with this discipline, the gravity of these people, their attention, and the devotion with which they bow the knee before God, are something imposing. These English households are the households of Christian patriarchs.

III.

DEFECTS.

Though I admire in many respects the wealth and aristocracy of Britain, I do not close my eyes to certain abuses which sometimes arise from them. Why should I conceal them? does not the Bible say, "Open rebuke is better than secret love?" This is the best friendship.

As we look at certain features of English society, we cannot help thinking that some of its members are, so to speak, overloaded, overwhelmed by the very weight of their riches.

The search after the *comfortable* and the *fashionable* is carried to an excess, which often detracts from the search after enjoyments more intellectual, more spiritual, and more pure. Houses, clothes, the table, plate, equipages, powdered footmen, are all made and organized in such a manner as to attract attention and even surprise; and one of the pleasures of the nobility and gentry is to drive every day through Regent Street, Hyde Park, and elsewhere, with a parade of horses, carriages, and liveries. This is beneath such a people. True, my opinion is only that of a foreigner, and I merely state my doubts to the children of Britain. I speak freely of their faults, but it is for them to decide; I accept by anticipation the verdict of the wise among their own people.

It has always appeared to me that there is in all this a certain littleness of mind, and that England would be greater without her *fashionable* slavery. One would think that, in order to buy their liberty in the gross, the English make themselves slaves in detail—slaves to fashion. The queen, powerless among her people, is an autocrat in her court.

What brings so many English families to the Continent? Various motives, no doubt; but frequently the fear of not being able to shine in England as much as their equals. There is a tendency among certain Englishmen to estimate a man, not by his intrinsic qualities, by his intellectual or moral worth, but by his fortune and his rank. Wealth is with them the chief of merits; and when they wish to know a man's standing in society, they ask, "What is he worth?" The sum of his wealth is also the sum of his value. When a party is assembled in one of the fine drawing-rooms of the aristocratic towns of England, and when dinner is announced, the master of the house generally points out to each of the gentlemen the lady to whom he is to offer his arm, to lead her to the dining-room. All this is arranged with great care, according to rank and fortune; and sometimes, very seldom no doubt, the stranger has to go in the last. We must, how-

ever, except the houses of the high aristocracy. In England, the greater they are, the more regard they exhibit towards the little. The foreigner nowhere meets with so much attention and kindness as in the fine mansions of the earls, marquises, and dukes of the United Kingdom.

With these worldly defects, which I have now pointed out, even Christians have been reproached, and we have perhaps reason to inquire how far the reproach is deserved. Much has been said of the worldly, the *fashionable* Christianity of England. We must observe, in the first place, that it is not only among the nobility that such Christianity is to be found; and we must even add, that in the highest families of England, there are instances of piety, spirituality, and of true simplicity, which are scarcely to be found elsewhere.

Nevertheless, a real danger exists. Wealth and grandeur are two elements not in exact harmony with true Christianity. This the Scriptures themselves declare. These two circumstances throw difficulties in the way of a Christian life. The renunciation of self, of the world, and of its pomps and vanities, must be essential to true piety. "They that are Christ's have crucified the flesh with its affections and lusts;" and the Word of God says to all, "Mortify, therefore, your members which are upon the earth." Those Christians who are living in the midst of abundance, and in the high places of society, must have more difficulty in fulfilling such commandments, and consequently need a greater degree of watchfulness.

But we may sometimes go too far, and require from them things which the Word of God does not demand. On the one hand, the Christian should make a decided separation between Christianity and the world; yet, on the other, the world, considered as the creation of God, ought not to be entirely rejected. It is only necessary that all things should be made new. The natural faculties of man should not be annihilated, but sanctified, glorified, and devoted to God.

The natural gifts of God are not to be despised, as an extreme puritanism may do, but enjoyed with "giving of thanks," as St. Paul says. When we behold the riches of the creation which David enumerates in the 104th Psalm we have only to exclaim with him, "Bless the Lord, O my soul!"

Puritanism or ascetism rejects the enjoyments of the natural life, because it considers them as tainted, saturated with sin. Doubtless, "the whole world lieth in wickedness," but this is one side of Christianity; there is another which says, "Ye are bought with a price; therefore, glorify God in your body and in your spirit, which are God's." Puritanism does not perceive with sufficient clearness that this redemption is universal; that it is for the body as well as for the spirit; and that it is to be realized in every phase of the natural life. There is nothing which is not capable of being redeemed; even riches, and nobility are so: they are to be redeemed and consecrated to God.

We may, it is true, be too precipitate in this business. Puritanism is right not to yield too hastily to this glorification of the whole life. If we hurry forward in this work, it may only prove at last a vain imagination. The renewing of our nature is not to be accomplished in a day; we must go on progressively, step by step. There are some natures especially, which require to remain a long time in the lower degrees. The foundation of repentance, of conversion, of faith, and of spiritual baptism, must be well laid, before, as St. Paul says to the Hebrews, we "go on to perfection."

Puritanism is, therefore, right in insisting upon the work of renewal, and in fixing the mind upon it. When I speak of Puritanism, I ask myself whether it still exists in England? whether it has not fallen under the influence of national developments, and the sneers of novelists? whether, in fine, it would not be necessary to go back to the seventeenth century in order to meet with it? or whether the Oxford asceticism has not now taken its place? Yet if, with

the Gospel, we must insist on the necessity of dying to the world, we must still, with faith, advance towards life, to that life which in God enjoys all lawful blessings. The fault of puritanism and asceticism consists in hurling against an order of things (which proceeds from the Creator, and which ought to be brought back to God,) an interdict too pitiless, and an excommunication too general. Thus, Protestant puritanism and Roman asceticism easily assume the appearance of a forced piety and of a mere profession of Christianity. No doubt, with regard to the things of this life, we should neither buy, sell, possess, nor enjoy, but with moderation and watchfulness. We should "use this world as not abusing it: for the fashion of this world passeth away."* But, on the other hand, it is sinful to despise and reject the gifts of God, and it is not even allowable to treat them with indifference. They are, in truth, "seducing spirits," who teach "doctrines of devils," who "forbid marriage, and command us to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth. For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving."†

Christianity must be carried into every sphere of human existence,—into literature and science, into domestic and public life, into commerce, into the navy and army, and into politics. And, perhaps—let us do England this justice—perhaps there is no nation which so well responds to this divine call. Of all lives, the Christian life is the most domestic, the most social, the most literary, the most scientific, for it is of all lives the most humanizing. This is what one of its earliest apologists incessantly repeated to the Pagans. "We remember," says Tertullian, "that we ought to give thanks to God, and we refuse no work of his hand. We are not without a forum, not without markets, not without workshops; we live in the same age with you. We navigate, we make war, we farm, we trade with you. We are

* 1 Cor. vii. 31. † 1 Tim. iv. 1—4.

your brethren by the law of nature; we have the same mother."* There is, I repeat it, no other nation—and this is England's highest glory—in which we see Christianity carried so truly, and often so decidedly, into every station of life,—into the peasant's cottage and on board the ships of war, behind the counter and amidst the camp, into the workshop and the halls of the universities, into the offices of the lower clerks and the Houses of Parliament, into the humble abodes of the poor and the cabinet council. This is right. It was necessary for the salvation of the world that the Word should be once made manifest in the flesh, and that this miracle should be continually renewed in a spiritual sense. We may say that Christianity is truly made man in England.

But here, we say again, lies the danger. This spiritual and legitimate secularization of the Gospel in Britain, is a reaction against the extreme puritanism of the seventeenth century. The human mind rushes willingly from one extreme to another. If slavery to fashion and the display of vanity are faults even in the worldly, how much more so are they in true Christians. There must be oil in the lamp! Let England therefore beware.

I have to point out another of the dangers of grandeur and opulence. There is something patriarchal in the immense possessions of the English and Scotch nobility; in those estates covered with inhabitants; in those populations which depend entirely on their lords, and who might be their fathers. How much good has been done and is still doing by these lords, by their wives, and by their daughters; how many churches and schools have been erected at their expense! How often have angels of Christian charity

* Meminimus nos gratiam debere Deo, nullum fructum operum ejus repudiamus. Itaque non sine foro, non sine macello, non sine officiis; cohabitamus vestrum nos sæculum. Navigamus, militamus, rusticamur, et mercatus miscemur. Fratres etiam vestri sumus, jure naturæ, matris unius. (Tertul. Apolog.)

been seen gliding into humble cottages, carrying consolation, assistance, and even instruction! Nothing of this kind is to be seen to the same degree in other countries.

Nevertheless, these large properties of the nobility, which sometimes entirely exclude the small proprietors, produce a melancholy impression. When I have been walking in one of those beautiful English parks, so fresh and verdant, so dotted with stately trees, so charming with the graceful undulations of the soil and with their beautiful lakes, I occasionally felt an indescribable sadness. I saw nothing but foliage upon foliage; the only sign of life was the cawing of the rooks, necessary inhabitants of these velvet glades. "Oh, who can restore me," thought I, "those smiling habitations, the delightful hamlets, the lively villages of my own Switzerland?" I gazed anxiously around, trying to discover among the trees the appearance of a roof; and could I but perceive the slightest trace, I ran forwards that I might see some peasant, man or woman—some symptom of life!

This is still more striking in Scotland. You may travel for miles through the Highlands, without meeting other inhabitants than thousands of sheep feeding in solitude. "Were I in Switzerland," I said to myself, "these hill-sides would be divided among several small owners: here would be a farm, there a châlet, and everywhere the animation of a free people." Yet there are exceptions. When I drew near that charming site at the extremity of Loch Tay, close by the romantic Kenmore, on which rises the stately palace of the Breadalbanes (many Genevese will remember that the present Marquis of Breadalbane, then Lord Glenorchy, visited their city twenty-five or thirty years ago), I was delighted to find the country dotted with pretty cottages, covered with roses, and to see healthy, ruddy children, playing before their smiling homes. It was like an oasis created by the beneficence of a Christian lord. But in general there is a desert. It is not long since, instead of the system of small farms, the landlords have substituted large ones,

and the unfortunate small farmers, finding themselves outbid, have been obliged to forsake their beloved mountains, and emigrate either to the Antipodes, to New Holland, or to throw themselves into the ever open, ever devouring gulf of the manufacturing towns of England or Scotland. It often happens that one lord is the sole proprietor of a whole county, from one sea to another; and he can, as has often been done within these few years, refuse the Christians who inhabit his estate, a site of thirty feet square in which they may worship God. It would be a glorious task for the statesmen who preside over the destiny of Great Britain, and whom no difficulties can deter, to seek some legal means of establishing small properties in Scotland, and delivering the country from the oppression of a few lairds.

I have already said that the opulent merchants and manufacturers of England wear their riches well. How can I recount all that is admirable in those mercantile and manufacturing towns, which sixty years ago were perhaps mere villages, and which are now among the most powerful cities in the world? Certainly the inhabitants may well have a feeling of pride; and that feeling is a right one, when accompanied with gratitude to God. Not without great virtues could such prosperity have arisen. Whether we consider those ports filled with ships from every quarter of the globe, among which tower, Colossus-like, those floating islands moved by steam: or whether we contemplate those vast manufactories in which the productions of the earth are so rapidly transformed, and where hundreds of workmen and thousands of machines are going on with wonderful order, activity, noise, and calmness, you certainly see before your eyes one of the finest spectacles that man can behold. I remember a short trip I made with an excellent friend from Liverpool, to visit that immense steam-ship, the Great Britain, then lying in the docks of that city.* I still fancy

* Since wrecked on the Irish coast, whence, after twelve months, it was, by immense exertion, floated off and towed back to Liverpool.

I can see the forests of masts of the ships which filled the basins, and the universal and perpetual bustle which the Roads presented. One seems at such a moment to be placed in a situation whence, as from an exceeding high mountain, we can behold "all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them:" and that the whole earth is brought before our view, with the ships that cover it, with its towns, its shores, and its most distant islands. From Liverpool Roads we survey the globe.

Yet here, also, there is a reverse to the medal; let us then turn it. What a contrast is exhibited between the smiling meadows of England, and the fresh Highlands of Scotland, with the manufacturing cities! When we walk through these dirty towns covered with coal-dust, whence, instead of the elegant spires of our Gothic steeples pointing to the skies, nothing but gigantic chimneys soar towards heaven; when we are surrounded by a stifling atmosphere, incessantly fed by volumes of smoke vomited forth from the blackened mouths of these tall and formal pyramids, and heavily descending again in clouds upon factories and houses, and obscuring the light of day; when we see the population of the country crowding into these narrow and unwholesome streets; oh, we would rather a hundred times that these poor families should have remained in their fields, cultivating and enlivening them, peopling them with a healthy and vigorous youth, and making them resound with their pious hymns!

What, alas! is the fate which in such large cities awaits these humble country people, either with regard to their physical or their moral existence? There is no country in which so much is done for the poor as in England: legal charity perhaps even goes too far. Numerous Christian and philanthropic societies are instituted to afford aid to all kinds of misery. More is done for this purpose in England than on the whole of the Continent put together, and yet the evil is not checked. You may sometimes see one of those rich and brilliant streets of London slowly traversed by a human form,

pale, dirty, frail, and tottering: is it man or woman? one can hardly tell. This phantom, a type of the lowest wretchedness, has come from its abode, perhaps only a few paces off, in some close alley hidden behind these stately mansions; and made its appearance in another world, as if to accuse it the more fearfully from its very silence. I remember one day passing through the Strand, one of the busiest streets of the capital, when I saw stopping before a splendid provision warehouse, in which all the most tempting delicacies that luxury could furnish were displayed, one of these human forms, dressed in a coat which had once been black, with shapeless hat and listless arms, trembling legs and hollow cheeks, and eyes, though sunken, yet fixed with longing look upon those exquisite dainties, from which only a thin pane of glass separated him. The rich display in its gilded frame, and that living skeleton! here, in two strokes, is the picture of London.

Not far from thence I heard one day in St. Dunstan's church, I think the most eloquent preacher of the metropolis as regards the form of his discourses. Mr. M——'s sermon was the history of a young man. He took him from the cradle in the fields of his birth-place: we beheld him growing and improving, happy and joyous in the midst of his family: when he was setting out for the capital, we heard the discourse of his father and his mother; he embraced them, and departed full of the best resolutions. He arrived in London: he resisted the first time the seductions of young men of his own age; but he was not so firm the second time. His struggles, his remorse, his backslidings were all painted in the most striking colors. At length, seized by sickness, the reward of his misconduct, we saw him on his death-bed, restless, terrified, expiring without hope: he carried his whole auditory into hell itself, and showed them the wretched youth crying out, "Mountains fall on us, and hide us from the wrath of the Lamb!" Alas, how often has this dismal history proved a sad reality!

One of the greatest evils of England is the want of instruction for the people; an omission on the part either of the church or of the state. There are, doubtless, Christian efforts by which they endeavor to supply it; and these efforts, I say again, infinitely surpass all similar ones made elsewhere. Much, very much has been done, and yet these are but insufficient palliatives. Even the rivalry of the different Christian communions sometimes opposes the good they would wish to do. Not long since we received a visit from a very distinguished member of parliament, closely connected with a statesman who some years ago was at the head of the British government. He came to the Continent for the purpose of studying elementary instruction. I sent him to the Director of the Normal School of Lausanne, with whom he was much pleased. Since that time, we have had many visits of the same kind; every one feels that something ought to be done: yet, notwithstanding the most powerful means of action, and the most earnest and sincere desires; notwithstanding even the most valuable labors, the English have not yet succeeded in finding a sufficiently efficacious remedy for the physical and moral wretchedness of the poor. I am not the only one who sees this state of things in such dark colors. "A former *will not* is punished by a present *cannot*," says a Christian Protestant writer, Dr. Sack; and another, the Abbé Dr. Luke, exclaims at the sight of this evil: "Oh, what a shadow in the bright picture of English life! An ecclesiastical institution, stiff, liturgical, technical, and episcopal if you will, but without a well-informed people, without a living flock—where, I ask, where can this lead to?"

IV.

PIETY AND DUTY.

And yet, if there is now the *will*, I cannot allow that there is no longer the power. There would be the power to rem-

edy this evil, if the influential men of England were to unite in trusting to Him of whom it is said, "I can do all things through Christ, who strengtheneth me."

Now, most politicians in England show, it is true, but little liking to the Gospel; yet there is something in the people which can still inspire much hope, and this is the power of religious feeling, and of Christian principle, so strong in Britain.

It may be said, that the people of Britain have more conscientiousness than any other. I mean a true consciousness of what they ought to be according to the will of God. Knowledge, science, is the idol of the Germans, and they know more perhaps than any other. Honor is the idol of the French, and none have heaped up so many military trophies. The British have an instinctive feeling of a vocation they have received from above, of a talent intrusted to them, which is to be made available over the whole earth, and they go forward in this work with enthusiasm and perseverance. There is yet much to be done in this respect. Interests, entirely temporal, and quite opposed to justice, too often predominate in the nation; and several melancholy instances of this might be adduced.* For England to attain to her high calling, conscience must become the moving principle of her people, and the religion of the Gospel the soul that animates the nation. It is in individuals that this work must commence; but, as soon as it is within the individual, it will exhibit itself in the whole mass. If, even in our own times, we have beheld in this nation great inconsistencies; if the most eminent men have been but "reeds shaken by the wind;" if they have rushed from one extreme to another; and such glaring apostasies have moved the whole people; it is because the primary principle—the Christian basis was wanting. It is not of the corn laws, but of the religious questions that I speak.

There is no people to whom religion is so necessary as to

* In China, for example.

the British. The material, agricultural, manufacturing, and mercantile interests are so predominant, that, were not religion to counterbalance them, the nation would be undone. The energetic activity which distinguishes the Britons; those gigantic enterprises that characterize them; the founding of an immense empire in India; the gates of China, which her powerful hand has wrenched open; that creation of Australia; those expeditions to the poles and to every climate; that abolition of the slave-trade and of slavery itself,—all these giant-like labors require that a pure religion should animate the people, that oil should be always pouring into the lamp, and that a truly moral force should inspire, moderate, and direct all these efforts. If the Britons, and even the Germans, are much better colonizers that the French, and the nations under the Papal rule, it is to the Gospel that they are indebted for it. Neither is this all. Even the admirable political institutions of Britain have need of the rule of faith; the liberal in politics should be conservative in religion. If the people of the United States, notwithstanding their many elements of disorder and dissolution, are not only still in existence, but increasing more and more in power and importance, it is because they are the sons of the Puritans.

From the very moment that England begins to yield; nay, from the moment she ceases to press onward in religion, we think she will decline towards her abasement, perhaps to her ruin. Evil elements are not wanting. She possesses, to a greater extent perhaps than any other country, a low, impious, and impure literature; and the efforts made to diffuse it among the people are very great. If once the mighty floodgates, which religion and morality oppose to those infamous publications, are thrown down, the torrent will break forth and overwhelm the whole nation with its poisonous waters.

Yet, though we wish that England should improve, we do not shut our eyes to her excellencies. I know of no manifestations of Christianity more attractive than those I have

met with in some of the ministers and evangelical Christians of the church of England. The essential principles of Christian truth are by none, perhaps, maintained with so great a purity, and so indomitable a firmness. Yet, at the same time, there is in these friends something so spiritual, so heartfelt, so full of grace, in short, that you are subdued by them. I know not whether even the defects of their church are not advantageous to them. The church is imperfect, the ecclesiastical bond is weak, no one scarcely has any thing to say about church government. This, with many ministers and members of the church, is productive of serious inconveniences; yet the result is, with others, that their whole being is turned, as it were, towards God. That Christian piety which is diffused over all the world, possesses in the Episcopal church of England some of its noblest representatives.

Eight or nine years ago I spent a Sunday in Cambridge. The dean of Trinity College, who had afforded me hospitality, took me to Trinity Church, of which he was the pastor, and placed me in his pew. Another person entered it shortly after. As he wore the university costume I took him for a student, or, at most, a Master of Arts. When the service commenced, my neighbor reverently knelt down and began, according to custom, to repeat the prayers in a low voice. Never shall I forget those humble and pious accents; every one of them, coming from his inmost bosom, sank into my own. I seemed to have entered the closet in which an elect soul was communing with his Saviour. Never, perhaps, have I spent an hour more truly edifying. When the prayers were finished, I looked at my neighbor with devout regard; I was wondering who he could be, when I saw him rise, go towards the pulpit, and ascend it for the sermon. It was Mr. B——, who was then on a journey for the Church Missionary Society, in which he took and still takes an interest no less lively than that which he has subsequently shown in the cause of Christian union. I understand how he can

compose so many admirable works upon Prayer, on the Lord's Supper, &c., from which so many souls have been refreshed as from Jacob's Well. He is in my opinion one of the types of a good evangelical English clergyman.

But it is not merely of these chosen ones that I would here speak; it is of the people. There is among them a universal religious feeling, a general awe of the name of God, of the Invisible Judge. Does this arise from nationality, or from the different Christian communions to be found in it? I know not—but even during the time when Deism had invaded a certain portion of society, it could never entirely efface the deep-seated feeling of the holiness of the divine law. Infidelity in England was grave, and often moral; while in France it was habitually riotous and dissolute. We must, however, in justice acknowledge, that there is a small nation on the frontiers of France, in which this riotous principle has been found, perhaps even in greater strength, than among her more powerful neighbors. . . . . This feeling of the holiness of the Law of God of which I speak, perhaps more particularly distinguishes the Christianity of England from that of other evangelical nations. There the doctrine of free grace is certainly proclaimed as well as elsewhere; but the respect shown to the divine law is still more striking. Duty is an idea but too much forgotten among us, while in England it is all important. This nation, so powerful and so haughty, bows before the thought of duty. It was Nelson's signal to his fleet at Trafalgar: "England expects every man to do his duty"—and every man did it.*

One of the features which most completely brings out the character of British Christianity, is the observance of the Lord's Day, or the Sabbath as they term it, I think improp-

* The Duke of Wellington, being asked if he had seen a French criticism on the fourteen volumes of his Dispatches, replied in the negative, and inquired, "What do the French say of them?" He was told, that the reviewer remarked the word *glory* did not once occur, but that *duty* frequently did.

erly. It is the custom of continental travellers, even of Christian ones, to complain loudly of the servile and exaggerated observance of the day of rest in Britain, and of all the annoyances it causes them. I shall not do so. I certainly cannot undertake to defend all the ideas that have been put forward upon this subject by our insular friends, and all the applications they have drawn from them; but I do not hesitate to say, that this submission of a whole people to the law of God, is something very impressive, and is probably the most incontestable source of the many blessings that have been showered on the nation. Order and obedience, morality and power, are all in Britain connected with the observance of the Sunday. Amidst the activity which pervades all things, the bustle of the towns, and the energy with which the inhabitants pursue their earthly callings, what would become of them had they not a day of rest in which to recruit themselves, and laying aside things temporal which are seen, to look forward to things eternal which are unseen? (2 Cor. iv. 18.)

A mighty struggle is now going on in this cause; and at the head of those who stand up for the maintenance of religious principles and national manners, is Sir Andrew Agnew, a worthy Scotchman, to whom I had the pleasure of being introduced. Many meetings, at which he presided, have been held in Edinburgh, in favor of the sanctification of the Lord's Day, now so violently threatened. The railroads, like a terrible battering-ram, are incessantly striking against this ancient stronghold of the Christian habits of Britain. In Scotland, there is no travelling on most of the railroads on Sundays; but on that from Glasgow to Edinburgh, in which English shareholders, who assert that all days are alike, are more numerous, two special trains had been kept up on that day, to carry the mails before and after divine service. The Christians did not abandon their cause, and at last they gained the victory. When I was in Scotland it had not yet been won; and, in the meanwhile, Chris-

tians abstained from travelling on that line. As we were leaving Edinburgh, a Christian lady, who was to have accompanied us to Fairlie, beyond Glasgow, told us that she would take the stage coach to the latter town. When I arrived in Glasgow by the railroad, I went with a friend to the coach office; the lady had not arrived. "But what advantage is there," said I, "in using this slow conveyance, when it sets out much sooner and arrives much later?" "The train," replied the friend who was with me, "runs on Sundays, and we only use it, even on week-days, in cases of necessity. The coach does not go on Sundays, and therefore we prefer it." Thus, while the railroads were everywhere driving the stage coaches off the roads, this zeal for the sanctification of the Lord's Day still kept them up between Edinburgh and Glasgow. Unfortunately, this is not the case in England. Not only do the trains run on Sundays, but a considerable reduction in the fares is often made on that day; thus offering temptations to the common people, who, for a trifling sum, can thus transport themselves to a considerable distance to engage in their diversions. In a meeting held at Edinburgh, on the 27th of February, 1846, it was stated that there were no fewer than 600 different trains running on Sundays in various parts of England, and that sometimes they are so long that they need six engines to draw them (the famous and terrible train of Versailles had only two); that they have sometimes consisted of 147 carriages, carrying 1710 passengers, and reaching the length of half a mile. There are now to be seen in the streets placards with gigantic letters, announcing that *pleasure trains* will run on Sunday at half price. Certainly, this is enough to justify the saying of a Christian of German Switzerland, an old federal colonel, who used to say, "Our Lord, when he appeared in the world, came on foot; the devil, when he comes, will travel by the railway." Yes, no doubt, if a remedy is not found out for this evil, immorality and disorder will be brought into England by these new roads. The

old British habits are disappearing. This claims the earnest attention of the friends of religion and of their country.

The English people might, doubtless, throw off the yoke of Sabbath observance; as they have abolished the corn laws. Sad manifestations sometimes break forth on this subject in the House of Commons, and even in the House of Lords! But we believe that the British nation is too much interested in preserving it, lightly to throw away the keeping of the Lord's Day. Though to many it may be a yoke, they will bear it without repining, convinced that by discipline alone liberty can be preserved among a people. To those of our continental friends who complain of the strict forms they meet with in Britain, we would reply, "Do you not see it is at the price of these very forms, that this people possesses such great political, and religious freedom? You on the Continent are more lax in regard to religious institutions; you smile at these strict forms: but you have either no liberty at all, or you have only its excesses." Where there is much public freedom, each individual must watch over himself. Great characters are not to be formed without severe discipline. We say again, the severity of England as to the Lord's Day and other institutions, is in our eyes an essential feature of the national character, and an imperative condition of the greatness and prosperity of her people.

I must here point out, although the association may appear singular, another manifestation of a very different kind, but opposed, like the Sunday trains, to this principle of respect for the divine law, which has hitherto been one of the characteristics of the English nation. I mean Puseyism. In fact, the essence of Puseyism is to set up the law of the church above the divine law; the traditions of men above the Word of God. I have elsewhere shown the principal features of the Oxford theology,* and will not repeat what I have there written. I shall only add, that two of the greatest dangers which threaten England are, worldliness, which

* "Geneva and Oxford."

by means of the railroads endeavors to make the law of the flesh prevail over the law of God; and Puseyism, which with the aid of surplices, and a few paltry traditions, seeks to overturn the law of the Lord by the law of the church. The latter of these manifestations is, in my view, no better than the former. Let us hope that, in both cases, the sincere attachment of the British people for the holy law of God will obtain the victory.

V.

THE ARTICLES AND THE ORATORS.

There are two elements essential to a church; the one fixed, and always the same; the other active, and always new: the former is the doctrine, the latter the life. These two elements are to be found in a remarkable degree in the Church of England. The former manifests itself in its articles of faith, the latter in all its Christian societies.

The Thirty-nine Articles have often been attacked. It has been asserted, that by maintaining them the church puts a stop to every spontaneous manifestation of faith, and destroys all spiritual freedom; the signing of them has been looked upon as a mere matter of form, a superstition, an act of hypocrisy.

We must own, that in certain cases these reproaches may have some foundation. The Articles presuppose a certain degree of Christian experience: if there are men who have not realized this experience, and who, nevertheless, sign the Articles, there is indeed on their part either illusion or hypocrisy. They ought to consider these Articles as the very voice of God, calling upon them to look into their own hearts, and to examine themselves upon the faith professed by the church; and they ought not to sign them, so long as this confession is not the real expression of their own personal faith.

As for those who know what salvation in Christ really is, what harm can the Articles do them? None! indeed, rather the reverse. Every true Christian has a spiritual life, an inward history, composed of distinct phases—faith, repentance, justification, and conversion, sanctification, peace, joy, and hope. It is requisite, both for the sake of others as for his own, that he should profess the great doctrines to which his inner life corresponds. Poor and ignorant Christians—and these are the greater number—would not know how to do this. If the church to which they belong presents to them an evangelical confession of faith, at once plain and profound, it renders them a very useful assistance. Theologians could, no doubt, without a creed easily give utterance to their faith; but we must think first of the poor and simple of the flock, of those of whom the Lord said, "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes."*

Men of the world regard the Articles of Faith of the Reformation as antiquated forms, become unmeaning in the present age. This error arises from their having never experienced in their hearts that faith in Christ which is the same in every age. Those confessions of Christian hope which our fathers made even in the face of Rome, and for the sake of which so many martyrs have ascended the scaffold, can never grow old, can never lose that divine fire which the Holy Spirit imparted to them. It has been said, "The Articles are useless to the church, the Bible is sufficient." But most frequently, at least upon the Continent, those who will not have confessions of faith, will not have the Bible either. Very lately, one of the most eminent Protestant clergymen of Germany, Dr. Ammon, first preacher of the court at Dresden, a rationalist, but yet an enlightened theologian, made this candid avowal: "Experience teaches

* Matt. xi. 25.

us, that those who reject a creed, will speedily reject the Holy Scriptures themselves."

Of all the churches of the Reformation, (with the exception of Scotland), the Church of England is that in which Articles of Faith bear the most important part. The beautiful creeds of the church of the fourth century (the Nicene and the Athanasian) form a part of her worship; and it is to be regretted that there is not some period of the year in which the Thirty-nine Articles are not also publicly read in the churches. The importance given to doctrine in the Church of England is her safeguard. Without it, she would long ago have fallen beneath the assaults, not of rationalsm, but of traditionalism and superstition. Let the ministers and the members of the church set forth and maintain once more the purest doctrines of grace, as contained in the Bible, and stated in the Thirty-nine Articles; let them raise on high and firmly wave that glorious standard, and the evil spirits will flee away.

But while the fixed element, the doctrine, is to be found in the Church of England: life, the active element, is not wanting. I should be afraid of the former element if the latter were not there. The creed alone might impose upon religion a stiffness and a monotony, which would be its ruin. But in a community where both the fixed and the active energies are united, these two contrary elements control each other. They are both equally essential to every Protestant church. It has sometimes been said, that doctrine is the characteristic of the Romish church, and life that of the Reformed churches. This is false: doctrine in Rome is but a secondary element; the primary thing with her is Rome itself,—the papacy, the hierarchy. In my opinion, it is these two agents united, doctrine and life, which form the characteristic of Protestantism. It is essentially a religion of life, —of that life, of which it is said in the Word, "In him was life, and the life was the light of men:"* a life with all its

* John, i. 4.

varieties and multifarious effects. "To be spiritually-minded is life."†

There is no country in which this vitality is so manifested as in Great Britain. The character of the people, at once energetic and practical, will not allow them to make a mere play of spiritual matters. Action immediately follows affection. All the religious and philanthropic societies of England are but the manifestations of life. They are the fruits with which a vigorous sap covers the tree of faith. It is true that this vital element has not reached perfection, either in the Church of England or in her dissenting churches. There is still much to be done, but we must acknowledge what already exists. If the national spirit exhibits itself in secular matters, by the vast colonization which encircles the globe; by those bold and distant conquests which bend beneath the dwellers on the Thames, those of the Ganges, the Indus, the Cavery, and the Burhampooter: by that immense trade which transports and exchanges the productions of the whole earth,—the Christians of England have not remained behind in spiritual matters, and their extensive missions have followed their merchants, their colonists, their armies, whithersoever they have gone forth.

Never do the labors of Christian vitality appear in England in a more imposing form than in the great public meetings which are held in London, especially in the month of May. If the world, if the despisers of the Sunday, have their monster trains; the worshippers of Jesus Christ have their monster meetings, if I may call them so; and these are no doubt the most remarkable manifestations of the religious spirit of Britain. Certainly, the thing most worthy of admiration is not the meetings of those societies, but their labors and their acts. The Bible, Missionary, Tract, and Christian Instruction Societies, with many others, are the highest glory and the chief strength of England. Not only has she taken the lead, but she has nowhere been outstripped. The re-

† Rom. viii. 6.

ports of these societies are everywhere; you have read them over and over again. It will therefore be more interesting to give you a description of their meetings.

To speak in that immense area of Exeter Hall, to four thousand auditors,—nay, four thousand impassioned auditors,—who reply by acclamations to the least word that finds an echo in their hearts, is no trifle, especially to foreigners. The remarkable capacity of the English and the Scotch for speaking well, clearly, and eloquently, is known to every one. This is in some degree a natural gift, but it is partly also an acquired one. Every son of Britain grows up in the midst of public life. Every one accustoms himself to think clearly, and to express forcibly, whatever is essential in all things. Besides this, the English, those at least who speak in these meetings, are familiar with the two great treasuries from which all elegant diction and eloquence is drawn: the one is the Bible, the other is the Greek and Latin classics. The art with which these assemblies are prepared, the continued progress, the animated, onward march which the leaders seek to impress upon them; the appearance, at one time of a Syrian, at another of a North American Indian, now of a New Zealander or of a Chinese, in the full costume of their respective countries, and each making a speech in his turn, like others (I was myself confounded with these orators from the different parts of the world); the art with which the most powerful speakers are generally reserved for the conclusion—all these things render the meetings overpowering and wonderful. If I were asked which affords the most exquisite enjoyment to the mind; the intimate conversations in a German study, where three or four eminent theologians assemble, with whom the mind freely ranges over the highest regions of thought; or these stupendous meetings, in which the souls of the auditory are drawn on by an orator as in a race, are subdued with him, and then on a sudden carried away amidst shouts and acclamations,—were I to be asked which of these two enjoyments I prefer, really

I should not know on which side the balance would incline; but were I to judge of the intensity, or rather the enthusiasm of enjoyment, I think I should decide in favor of the London or Scottish meetings. Oh, how much do we live in those few hours! how do our hearts burn within us! And yet, after those volcanic explosions, and those streams of burning lava which flow in torrents, it must be owned, something more calm and more intimate is salutary, and we love to return to "the waters of Shiloah that go softly." (Isaiah, viii. 6.)

I will not mention all the admirable orators whom I have heard in England and Scotland; the list would be too long. But if I must give the names of the lions of eloquence, I would point in Scotland to Chalmers,* whose profound intellect and ardent heart are displayed through the medium of a diction of fervid, I would even say, of Scottish energy,—Chalmers, whose lips utter flames and fire, so that in spite of an accent so strongly provincial as to be almost unintelligible to us, the foreigner loses not one of his expressions, for the soul of the orator reveals what his organ seems to conceal,—Chalmers, who fearlessly throws himself into the most difficult subjects, because wherever this great orator bends his steps a ray of light springs up, and makes all clear,—Chalmers, the most powerful soul that was ever made subservient to the most lucid and vigorous intellect. I would next name Dr. C——; at first grave, severe, abrupt, letting his sentences fall with a certain monotony, appearing torpid, almost asleep; then all at once bursting like a shell amidst the assembly, moving heaven and earth, and leaving all his auditory crushed and shattered by the thunders of his eloquence. I would name also the Rev. T. G——, smiling, jesting, scattering flowers around you, and then soaring like an eagle

* I had intended giving the initials only of this eminent Christian's name; but as he has since fallen asleep in the Lord, I shall be acquitted of indiscretion if I make him an exception to the rule I have generally observed in this volume.

from these gay parterres, among which you thought he would leave you, and carrying you with him to the highest heavens.

In England, I would name Dr. H. M'N——, one of the most commanding figures I ever met with in that country, taking his stand before his auditory like a general, or like a king; with unembarrassed air, dealing his blows manfully on every side, sometimes not sparing in his admirable archness even the friends that are sitting beside him, and carrying away his hearers with wonder at the elegance of his style. I would mention the Rev. H. S——, in the pulpit simple and gentle as a lamb, but as soon as he steps upon the platform he suddenly becomes a lion: head, hands, and feet, are all in motion; you fancy you can see his very mane rising on end. But it is not a mere physical agitation that animates him; and, as the stamp of Pompey's foot upon the ground caused soldiers to arise from it, so do S——'s starts and stamps bring forth armies which subdue his auditors. Lastly, I would name B. N——, that man so noble and so simple; whose look is so candid, and whose soul so heavenly; who, when he begins, appears an unruffled sea lying in the deepest tranquillity. But, stay! little by little the waters move, N——'s soul grows warm, the wind of heaven descends and blows, the speaker abandons himself to it without restraint, he mounts up to the skies, and rises aloft in the midst of lightnings. The calm is changed to a sublime tempest, and you feel that it is not only on the surface, but to the very depths of the abyss, that the sea is stirred.

You may judge of the enjoyment I received from my travels, when I say that all these men, and many more besides, of talents perhaps not less remarkable, welcomed me as a friend and a brother; and that some among them have afforded me hospitality, so that I could enjoy in their homes, and at their tables, for several days, the charms of their most intimate conversation. I shall only add, that all these speeches are extempore; this it is, doubtless, which consti-

tutes their beauty. More than once I have seen Mr. N——, for instance, arrive at a meeting in the middle of the proceedings. His entrance might be perceived by a murmur of pleasure running through the assembly, if not by noisy acclamations. Immediately one of the secretaries would go to him, and hand him a card, on one side of which was written the motion which they requested this powerful orator to second. N—— would listen for a few moments to what was going on, as if he would make a note of it, and then taking out his pencil, and turning the card, would write six or eight words upon the back. This was the skeleton of the speech he was about to make. Soon after he would rise to speak, and a remarkable production of the human mind would proceed from these scanty elements.

If the orators of Britain surpass those of the Continent when on the platform (as they call it), I cannot say as much of them when they are in the pulpit. Here they are inferior, if not to the continental preachers, at least to themselves. I do not mean to say, however, that their preaching is not excellent. I heard in London, in the month of July, Mr. B. N—— deliver one of the clearest, the most scriptural, and the most eloquent discourses, upon the assurance of salvation, that I had ever heard in England; and I was the more struck by it, as a newspaper affirmed the very next day, I think, after this eloquent display, that Mr. B. N—— preached very indifferent sermons. At any rate, the editor could not have been at St. J——'s Chapel on that day.

VI.

UNION AND SEPARATION.

Many of the Exeter Hall meetings are composed of Christians of different denominations. This brings me to one of the objects of my journey to England and Scotland, which was to promote the grand idea of the union of all Christians

of every denomination, if they but love and confess Jesus Christ as God and Saviour.

At Liverpool, I was present at a breakfast, of five to six hundred covers, where Christians of all communions assembled for the first time; and similar meetings took place in almost all the towns of England and Scotland through which my friend and I passed. We were brethren from the Continent, strangers to their disputes, and all joined with one accord to receive us. This was one of the most pleasing incidents of our journey.

The breakfast at Liverpool was very animated; speeches succeeded one another with lively rapidity; and it was beautiful to witness that mercantile population bursting forth in the most enthusiastic manner at every religious idea. I experienced in other places the same enjoyment, and everywhere felt a happiness of which even few Englishmen are able to partake. I have come in contact, not only in private conversation, but also on public occasions, with Christians of every different communion. At Manchester, Bath, Bristol, London, and elsewhere, I was called upon to speak, as at Liverpool, before numerous assemblies, at one time exclusively episcopal and national, at another exclusively independent, and, occasionally, mixed. Nay, more, I was received with equal cordiality by men occupying the most different situations. At Fulham, on the delightful banks of the Thames, in that palace which, for seven or eight centuries, has been inhabited by the Bishops of London, being introduced to the present bishop by one of those ecclesiastics in his diocese for whom he has the highest esteem, the Rev. R. B——, I was entertained with touching hospitality at the table, and among the clergy of that eminent and active prelate. And nearly at the same time, in the library of the Congregational churches, in the house of the London Missionary Society, I took my seat among the Independents, who cordially invited me to a dinner, at which presided our respected friend, Sir Culling Eardley Smith, and at which

were present some of the missionaries who had escaped from the savage invasion of Otaheite.

Being invited by the Dean of Westminster, the son of the celebrated Wilberforce, and now Bishop of Oxford, to attend the too pompous cathedral-service in that magnificent abbey, and to sit down at his family table, which has lost its loveliest ornament, I proceeded thither at the usual hour. Here I—a Presbyterian minister—was conducted by one of the officials to the canons' stalls; and I could not show greater bigotry by refusing, than they had done by leading me thither. After the sermon, and before his dinner, the dean took me round the vast pile, and pointed out to me the most remarkable objects it contains. I noticed especially the Halls of Convocation, in which the Anglican clergy assemble to no purpose; and the tomb of the great Wilberforce, one of the most interesting monuments in the abbey, and which had a more particular attraction in my eyes; and that statue, so characteristic and so animated, with the design of which all of us are familiar. There was indeed something striking in the son being stationed there, the guardian, as it were, of his father's tomb. But almost at the same time, as I was walking with the dean through the long-drawn aisles and beneath the fretted roofs of Westminster, the English Presbyterians invited me to a hall in the city—to one of those monster breakfasts, where tea and coffee speedily make way for animated speeches, cordially responded to by the acclamations and the applause of the guests, until the hour of business, eleven or twelve o'clock, obliges them to disperse.

I was at the Hanover Square Rooms, at the meeting of the Foreign Aid Society, founded, for the most part, by the activity of our friend Mr. R. B——, and consisting entirely of members of the national church, and which has already done so much good on the Continent. There I spoke before a numerous and select assembly, composed chiefly of the English aristocracy; and I also went to Finsbury Chapel,

the largest dissenting meeting-house in London, then filled with an immense crowd, where I stood upon an elevated platform, among the most eminent of the English Nonconformists. My hand clasped their hands, my prayers mingled with theirs, and on that very day was founded a new Auxiliary Nonconformist Society for the Continent of Europe.

Christian union, as I have already said, was one of the chief subjects of my speeches during my journey through England and Scotland; but I thank God that I was enabled to do more than speak about it. I was able to practise it. It is a cause which continues to engage all my sympathy; and may it please God to remove the many obstacles which it meets with, and which it has still to encounter, from churchmen too bigoted, nationalists too timid, and dissenters too ardent! I will add, may God also preserve it from ideas too exclusive on the part of its own friends!

There are indeed manifestations most opposed to this union. But these manifestations (Puseyism, for instance, which is in our time the most prominent event in the existence of the Anglican church,) are, as I think, but phases of this great work of union,—phases natural and even necessary.

When, after a period of spiritual death, (as was the case in England during the earlier part of the eighteenth century,) the Christian life begins to revive, all vital Christians feel themselves drawn together; whatever be the different denominations to which they belong, they feel themselves united. This is what happened in England at the period of the founding of the London Missionary Society, and during the following years. It is well known that this society proposed to give admission to members of all religious communions.

But a period of separation succeeded to this time of union. Each Christian gradually became more attached to the particular church form to which he belonged. The Nationalist became more national, the Dissenter more dissenting, the Episcopalian more episcopal, the Presbyterian more presbyterian, the Wesleyan more Wesleyan, the Congregationalist

more congregational, the Baptist more Baptist, the Calvinist more Calvinistic, the Arminian more Arminian. It would be unjust to attribute this narrow mindedness, this sectarian movement, to any one church: it is to be found in every denomination, among dissenters as well as among churchmen. At first it was the Word and the Spirit of God alone which acted together on every heart, and this action was everywhere alike. Now, the history of each church, her traditions, her antecedents, her special doctrines are at work; but as this operation is infinitely diversified, it divides instead of uniting.

There is in this latter action something natural, something even allowable, if kept within certain bounds; but it is easily carried to an extreme, and this is what has everywhere happened.

The Episcopalians, for instance, after having felt the infinite value of Christian truth which belongs to all evangelical communions, may without impropriety attach a certain value to their own special form, their episcopacy. This is done by the evangelical Episcopalians, and no pious and wise Presbyterian or Congregationalist can blame them for it.

But many have not contented themselves with this. They have abandoned Christian liberty to rush into the servile ways of a narrow ecclesiastical system. From certain principles, which in their eyes are absolutely true, they have drawn most merciless deductions. Misapprehending the nature of the true church, which is "the general assembly of the first-born, which are written in heaven," (Heb. xii. 23,) the internal, spiritual, and invisible church, they have proceeded to set up in her stead a certain external organization, a certain human institution; and all that is to be found out of this organization, out of this succession and episcopalianism, has been rejected as not belonging to the church. From this it has followed, that in the eyes of these ultra-orthodox divines, Presbyterian ministers are no ministers at all, and that the Lord's Supper celebrated by Congregationalists is in like manner no Sacrament. I am aware that the church is

visible as well as invisible; but I also know that almost all the errors of Rome have proceeded from her ascribing to the visible church what belongs to the spiritual church alone. Let us beware of imitating her example.

These are the extremes of the re-action we are now witnessing. It must, and will pass away. The system is too void of truth to have any vitality, in the midst of the Gospel light. In the first period we pointed out (that of the revival), differences had perhaps been too much forgotten. At the present time, unity is too much overlooked. We now see a third period commencing, in which it is to be hoped due importance will be given both to essential and to secondary objects.

Notwithstanding these weaknesses, however, I have a liking for the Church of England; and I must say so, even if I should somewhat displease my Presbyterian and my Independent friends. There is one circumstance of my life which may serve to explain this. Fifteen or sixteen years ago, before a free chapel founded by the Evangelical Society was erected in Geneva, I could not go to hear, in the Genevese places of worship, sermons of mere morality or of Unitarian doctrine; and it was painful to me to communicate in them, after discourses in which the works of men were set up, instead of the blood of Jesus Christ. At that time, the English church, which had successively as ministers two excellent men, Mr. Burgess and Mr. Hartley, was as a place of refuge for me. I there spent many precious hours, and was privileged to join in the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Those very parts of the Liturgy which shock some persons, were those which delighted me the most. When I heard the Nicene, or the Athanasian Creeds, profess so explicitely the holy and glorious doctrines of the Trinity, so obstinately denied in Geneva, I experienced a feeling of joy and adoration. I must here pay my tribute of gratitude to this church. She has done me good.

I like to proclaim, with the Anglican Church, faith in

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Christ, very God and very Man; the corruption of our nature by original sin; justification by faith alone; and regeneration or the new birth, of which baptism is the sign; and when our Genevese school of theology desired to confess her faith, she borrowed, as you know, the seventeenth Article of the Church of England, to affirm the doctrine of Election.

There is much vitality in the Evangelical Episcopal party in England. There are, both in the ministry and in the congregations, many men who pray, many men who believe, and who are ready to do all things, to be faithful to Jesus Christ. The other two parties,—that of Canterbury, whose essential dogma is Episcopal succession, and that of Oxford, which leans towards the Papacy,—are in the presence of the Evangelical party, but as phantoms before living men. They may frighten, but they cannot conquer it. Several circumstances, no doubt, concur in weakening the Evangelical Episcopalian body in England. Some of its most distinguished adherents have latterly too much lost sight of what is truly essential—the Word of God—to attach themselves to the little superstitions of hierarchical parties. But this evil will pass away. These men are, above all, Christian men. They will remember this in the day of battle, and will openly range themselves under the banner of Jesus Christ.

What is most wanting to the Evangelical party is the consciousness of its own strength. It is much stronger than it thinks itself. Perhaps nowhere in Christendom is there a greater love for the Word of God, and, consequently, more pledges of a certain victory.

VII.

THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

After having gone through the different manifestations of English life, rising step by step, shall I finish with the church, and thus end where I began? It is an entire world, from

which I shrink. I have no time to enter upon it, and, besides, it is well known to you. Yet the church is essential to the existence of England, and with it I must conclude.

Looking through the various parts of the constitution of the Church of England, I find certain institutions which, according to my convictions, are not what they ought to be in a church, and these I consider it my duty to point out. If there is a process termed *development*, to carry us away from evangelical simplicity, ought there not to be another, called *reformation*, to bring us back to it?

Reformation should begin with the institutions destined to train up the ministers of the church. The Church of England is essentially an aristocratic church. The members of the English clergy are taken from all ranks of society, and the sons of British peers sit sometimes as ministers beside the sons of artisans. In this no doubt there are advantages; but there are also inconveniences. The worldliness of the clergy has long been a general complaint in England. The love of liturgical and architectural forms in the present day is another. Puseyism, to corrupt the church, has begun with the universities: in them it has sought to establish its power. "The children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light." The Evangelical party must endeavor to diffuse, both in Oxford and in Cambridge, more of true light, true science, and true piety.

I have visited Cambridge. I have seen her students, arrayed in the academical gown and cap, meet together morning and evening for their liturgical worship in their magnificent chapels. I remember my stay in that university eight or nine years ago; the services, the lectures, my repast in the immense hall of Trinity College, and the chamber of the great Isaac Newton, in which the dean had the kindness to lodge me. I found among the members of the university a vital piety, and I am convinced that any efforts they may make to revive these nurseries of the church will certainly not be useless.

I am aware that the Evangelical party has been reproached

with being too narrow-minded, and not sufficiently learned. Dr. Arnold has given utterance to these accusations, and they may have some foundation. I do not think that the Evangelical party should, or even could, be reinstated purely and simply, such as it was in the time of Cecil and of Milner. This would be a loss of labor. A new development is necessary. If evangelical England is to be rebuilt, she must be set up anew upon the living rock of the Divine Word. She must cease to cultivate almost exclusively in her universities the classical languages and the mathematics; and in order to form theologians, some attention must be paid to theological science. England, in this respect, is far behind the churches and universities of the Continent.

It is asserted that a Young German party is forming in the English universities, especially at Oxford. I know not what will become of it, for there are many tendencies in Germany, as we have seen. There is among a few German ministers an ecclesiastical tendency, somewhat resembling that of Dr. Pusey. There is a rationalist, philosophical, and pantheistical tendency, which aims at nothing else but the destruction of the faith. But there is also another tendency, exegetic, biblical, and historical, whose object it is to temper the church anew in the living springs of truth. If it is Pantheism that England is about to import from Germany, we have seen what eccentricities and errors may be expected from it. But if she goes to the school of Neander, of Nitzsh, of Hengstenberg, and of Tholuck, to train herself to the study of the Bible, of Christian history and divinity, she may derive much benefit. It is evident that if England receives from Germany any tendency whatever, that tendency will be modified. English individuality is too strongly marked not to impress on it a peculiar stamp. The rationalist elements, that may be met with, will be rejected. These biblical, historical, and theological studies, will enlarge the theology of England, and cause her to produce other works besides Apocalyptical commentaries.

Can nothing be done to promote this? When the Christians of Bale beheld their university almost invaded by Rationalism, they united to found a theological chair, which a biblical doctor was called to fill. And when, at Geneva, we saw the old school absorbed by Unitarianism, we established our new evangelical and free school. Will England—so energetic, so powerful, so wealthy, and so faithful—do nothing?

Theological science plays too prominent a part in Germany; in England it is not held in sufficient importance. If in Germany there is a science and no church, may it not be said that in England there is a church and no science? The great aim of the church is not science, but the salvation of souls, and thence the glory of God. We would rather have a church without science, than science without a church. Nay, more; we acknowledge that England is far from being without the theological element. Nevertheless, the philological, mathematical, physical, and economical sciences occupy the mind more than theology. If we compare England with her good old times, with the church of the Reformation, or with that of the early ages, she appears far behind. Theology is a fine career opened to the lofty intellect of Britain.

Not only at the basis,—in the universities, is a reform needed, but also at the summit, in church government.

I might here instance one of the first elements of this government—the elections. The church members in England have no share in the choice of their ministers; and what takes place in the elections of the bishops is still more extraordinary. When a vacant see is to be filled up, the chapter receives from the crown a *congé d'élire;* but this writ is accompanied by another (a letter-missive), in which the crown designates the person whom the chapter is to appoint. If after twelve days the election does not take place, the king nominates the bishop by letters patent, and the chapter, if it opposes this, exposes itself to the penalties of *præmunire*, which renders the members liable to imprisonment "during

the king's pleasure." At the same time the king takes possession of the revenues.

But it is, in particular, of the supreme government of the church that I would speak. In this the rights of the church are still more completely sacrificed.

The Church of England is composed of two archiepiscopal provinces—Canterbury and York. Each of these has from very early times, probably since the reign of Edward I., held convocations, or ecclesiastical synods; which being called to grant taxes to the crown, levied upon church property, always met at the same time with the parliament.

The convocation of Canterbury, which is held at Westminster, is composed of two houses—the bishops' and the lower house, in which are twenty-two deans, fifty-three archdeacons, twenty-four deputies from the chapters, and forty-four of the lower clergy; but no laymen. To these convocations once belonged, saving the king's prerogative, the government of the church. But in 1717, at the time of the Jacobite troubles, the debates having displeased government, the convocation was dissolved; and now it no longer exists. It is true, that whenever a new parliament meets, the elections again take place; the convocation assembles at Westminster; a Latin sermon is preached; after which the convocation recognizes what the last parliament has enacted concerning ecclesiastical affairs, and draws up an address to the king or the queen; after this it adjourns *sine die*. Thus the Anglican Church meets to take off its hat and make a low bow to those who have taken away all its power,—and then the mutes disperse. It is the shadow of a body, which having the shadow of a jurisdiction, holds the shadow of an assembly; and then all these shadows dissolve and vanish under the antique arches, and among the pillars, statues, urns, and tombs of the Gothic abbey.

The crown might convoke the synods; but it never calls them together, and thus, by maintaining the *status quo*, it seems, in my opinion, to show that this right out not to be-

long to it. A right which is never made use of is an absurdity.

Can such a church government subsist?

I have often met with two very different opinions with regard to the Church of England—that which would preserve every thing in it, and that which would entirely abolish it. Neither of these opinions is mine. This church, it must be owned, is dear to the people of England; and it has never ceased to bear valuable fruits to Christianity in general. But I do not think that in the present age the Church of England can preserve the institutions which she owes to the middle ages; and I am of opinion that the changes, more or less violent, which the state introduced into it during the eighteenth century, ought to be revised and corrected under a more Christian influence.

I believe in the preservation of the Church of England; but I also believe in her transformation. The state has hitherto gagged and stifled her. I think that the Christian element within her ought to disengage and develop itself, and create a new independence and a new life. Of all Evangelical churches, that of England is the least ripe for independence. The Reformation in the sixteenth century took deep root among the people; a biblical Christianity was then ardently sought after; but the change of the ecclesiastical constitution was for the most part accomplished by the government, and consisted at first of little more than the substitution of the king for the pope as the head of the church. The English, therefore, stand upon a very different historical ground to that of other nations; and this we must consider in order to do them justice.

But the force of times and circumstances is bringing about a revolution which England little thought of. It is evident that since the Emancipation and other acts have given Roman Catholics and Dissenters seats in parliament, it is an unreasonable and humiliating thing for the church that parliament should rule over her. Only think of the *tail* of

O'Connell, of Young Ireland—those headstrong Papists, being placed by law among the heads of the Protestant Church of England. It is one of those monstrosities which can only last a few years. The principles of eternal justice will soon set it right.

I stated my views on this subject in 1845, before leaving England, in a letter addressed to one of its most venerable leaders, the Bishop of Chester; which, though published in the English papers, was but little responded to.* The Anglican church was formerly governed, as we have seen, by a body purely clerical—the convocation of the bishops and other members of the clergy. All were sensible of the immense abuses arising from this state of things, and, at the beginning of the last century, it received a government essentially lay—the parliament. Every one feels, at present, that this state of things, also, cannot exist. There evidently must be a third. The Church of England must have a government independent of the parliament—a government in which, doubtless, the bishops will sit; but in which will appear also the ordinary clergy, and wherein deputies from the parishes will have an influential voice. Every true Protestant should reject the hierarchical course; which may be very serviceable, perhaps, for ancient Egypt, or modern Rome, but is unsuited to Great Britain. The ideas which I put forth in my letter to the Bishop of Chester, may meet with contradiction, but they will also, I am certain, meet with commendation.

One of the men who are called upon to exercise great influence in the Episcopal Church of England made this observation to me, which I well remember:—"To wish in our days for a church government without the intervention of the members of the church, is to wish for a church without

* I have been informed that an Evangelical Episcopal journal refused to insert articles in which this letter was discussed, and which were sent by one of its usual contributors.

influence and without greatness." These are the words of a dignitary of the church.

The want of ecclesiastical institutions and representation in England, is, I am convinced, one of the most active causes of Puseyism. Both the ministers and the members of a church require occupation; and when there are no public institutious calling upon them to discuss ecclesiastical interests, and to realize salutary reforms, then they rush into something else. In Germany, they have taken to science and rationalism; in England, they have turned to ecclesiasticism and popery.

The young men leave the universities. There they have gone through their studies,—philological, mathematical, physical, architectural, if not theological; but there, at least, they found movement and life. The more pious, no doubt, devote themselves to the care of their flocks; but even they have need of some other aliment; their intellect has wants; their ecclesiastical capacity demands to be satisfied; they desire to escape from isolation. The greater the stores of their minds, the greater will be their wants. They meet with ideas of tradition, of succession, of sacramental influence, of sacerdotal character,—all the tenets of false Catholicism. These proffered aliments the young men joyfully receive and devour; and if no remedy be found, they will fall, more and more, into that way of superstition.

This must not be overlooked. Doubtless, the first means of remedying the evil is what I have pointed out—namely, pure Christian doctrine. However, since Puseyism is the result of certain ecclesiastical wants, some other means must be sought to satisfy them. Channels should be formed in which the life of the church may circulate. We have had enough of "Tracts for the Times," of Puseyite romances, disfigured histories, and architecture of the middle ages. Something else is needed for the church; she needs action —action, that great virtue of England.

Would it be erroneous to affirm, that the ecclesiastical

forms of a Protestant people ought to be in correspondence with their political forms? Let us be rightly understood. We by no means say, that because one form is in the state, it ought also to be in the church; this would be Erastianism, and we reject it. But we ask, if it would be possible for a nation which has felt a certain Christian influence in her political developments, to reject that influence in her ecclesiastical developments? We find the principle of the deliberative assemblies of Christendom in the 15th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, the result of whose deliberation was a letter written from "The apostles, and elders, and brethren, to the brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch, and Syria, and Cilicia." Hence have proceeded, doubtless decreasing and degenerating, the synods and councils of Christendom; and these institutions have powerfully concurred in producing the political assemblies which are becoming more and more prevalent among all Christian nations. England is the nurse, the *terra alma* of these great debates. From her they are transplanted into all other countries. Now, while this form holds so important a part in the state, is it possible it should hold none in the church?

There is, in the spirit of a nation, a complete unity. If the mind, in a certain sphere, needs to exhibit itself in certain forms, would it not, in another sphere, require some analogous forms? What! a people will have publicity in worldly things, and yet reject it in the things of the church! They demand to be enlightened by debates in matters of taxes, of gold and silver; and they care not for light upon questions concerning imperishable riches more precious than gold! The ecclesiastical institutions of the first century have helped to give political institutions to modern nations. Will these nations reject the same institutions in the field of the church, which is, however, the field peculiar to them, and the soil in which they primitively flourished?

How can any one in England deny the necessity of an ecclesiastical representation, in which the members of the

church, and not the ministers alone, may be heard? All the societies formed for so many different objects, all these meetings, all these deliberations—are they not proofs of a want which is felt more and more in the present day?

It has been remarked, that there is in England much ecclesiastical isolation; a minister is frequently left almost alone. This, in some cases, will not prevent him from acting with fidelity and activity; yet he will often fall into remissness, languor, supineness, and a death-like inertia.

An ecclesiastical constitution, inspired by a spirit of wisdom and piety, would remedy this evil. Councils, synods, and connections of different ministers with each other, would rouse those who are on the point of falling asleep, and be a means which the grace of God would employ to "lift up the hands that hang down, and the feeble knees." (Heb. xii. 12.) They would prevent two evils—the want of superintendence, of order, and of discipline on the one hand; and the arbitrary rule of the bishops on the other.

But, above all, when once ecclesiastical rights are granted to the members of the English parishes, as for so many centuries political rights have been granted to the commons, the Church of England will become what she ought to be, a truly popular church. The state, by swallowing up the church, has become great and powerful; but what is the condition of the people? Must not statesmen themselves acknowledge that they are poorer and more vicious. This would not have been the case, if the church, instead of appearing only by its dignitaries, on the bishops' bench and in the privy council, had also bestowed rights on her little ones,—on those members of the flock to whom the word gives so high a place in the church of the living God.

I will only add that episcopacy, far from being shaken by these important reforms, would, on the contrary, be strengthened by them. The executive power, the ecclesiastical administration, the superintendence of the churches, would re-

main with the bishops, and the episcopal authority be placed on a more elevated pedestal.

I conclude, by saying, that a revolution in theological instruction and in ecclesiastical institutions, are two grand *desiderata* in the Church of England.

These two revolutions would be at once salutary and glorious.

The Roman phalanx is advancing in every country, and presents a fearful front. How is it to be vanquished? The Bible tells us, "They overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony." The Word and the Blood,—behold the arms of the church!

But will the church combat alone? Is not the state called upon to withstand Rome? What, then, is the history of the middle ages, but the picture of a great combat between the State and the Papacy? Can we do otherwise than withstand an enemy who never ceases from attacking us? and is not every one aware that the sometimes hidden, but always certain aim of Rome, is to rule over the state? It is painful and alarming indeed, to see the enlightened statesmen of England fancying that Rome has laid aside her ambition and her designs, and is no longer to be distrusted. I do not think that infatuation so astonishing has ever before been observed in minds so eminent. Let the state arouse herself. Standing upon the consciousness of her rights, let her keep Rome in check; nay, repel with firmness her hypocritical and criminal invasions.

There are two powers that ought to attack Rome, as there are two which Rome would enthral? Let these two armies set forward, each on its own ground, to meet the enemy. Let the state proceed with her own warfare, and the church also with hers. And, while the state opposes to Rome her unquestionable rights, let the church oppose to her a living and individual Christianity.

Our own little Geneva, and Great Britain, are both sustaining violent assaults; but we shall not perish. No!

Evangelical Christianity will not perish either in Geneva, or in England, or in the whole world. I have, for my warrant, the memory of our fathers, the zeal of those who now profess "the faith which was once delivered to the saints." Nay, more, I have for my warrant the ancient, immortal, and ever faithful companions of the Lord our God. He will neither forget the great nation of England, nor the small community of which we, the countrymen of Calvin, form a part; countries so dissimilar in many respects, and which, nevertheless, He has chosen—the one in her power, the other in her lowliness,—to make them beacons of the Gospel and bulwarks of Christianity.

CHAPTER III.

SCOTLAND.

1. Germany, England, and Scotland. Crossing England by Railway. Arrival in Scotland. Chalmers. Edinburgh. The Old and the New Town. The Castle Hill. Holyrood.—2. Difference between the English and the Scotch. Scottish Character. A Proof of the Reformation. Importance of Doctrine. Spirit and Life. Character of Scottish Theology. Basis. Apex.—3. Worship. A Sermon. Length. A Farewell Sermon. Liberty. The Lord's Supper. Standing or Sitting? Discipline; Essential or not? Public Instruction.—4. Disruption of 1843. State of the Established Church. Holyrood and the Lord High Commissioner. The General Assembly of the Establishment and the Platform. Was a Speech necessary! Dinner at Holyrood.—5. Impartiality. The Assembly Time. The 18th of May and Cannon Mills. Our Entrance. A Scottish Assembly. Speech of Chalmers. Geneva and Scotland. Popery and Erastianism. Bonfires of Straw.—6. Speech of the Deputies: Dr. Gordon, Dr. Macfarlane, Dr. Brown. Fatigue and Repose.

I.

EDINBURGH.

I HAVE spoken of England and of Germany. I might have gone more deeply into the church questions of these two countries, but one consideration has deterred me. Great things are in preparation both for England and for Germany; but the crisis has not yet arrived, and I am no prophet. It is not so with Scotland. There the crisis has not reached its full development, but the effort has been made. On this country, therefore, I shall especially dwell.

England, Germany, and Scotland exhibit, with regard to the church, a different aspect.

In Germany, the Vandal spirit of rationalism destroyed every thing; the church went to ruin, and that noble country presented a vast chaos in which contrary forces were struggling together. But already the Spirit of God is moving on the face of the waters; the divine word has been uttered, and the new creation is begun.

In England, they had not fallen quite so low. Ancient and venerable forms had been maintained; but, generally speaking, the true, the divine Spirit had forsaken those forms. In its place a human spirit, produced by these very forms, had taken possession of them; and, alas! still sits proudly in the antique porch of many a college and cathedral. But the true spirit, banished from these elevated stations, has found refuge in humble retreats, and is now about to come forth with power to attack the human and traditional one, and to drive it from its Gothic strong-holds, and set up in its stead that which is always ancient yet always new—the Eternal spirit. If ever it gains the mastery, may it so accomplish the primitive reform, that these high places can no longer serve as a retreat for the enemy!

Scotland is in a better situation. A victory has been achieved, but there are still many triumphs to be won. Victory has to struggle against victory itself. There are all kinds of dangers for success: there are those of lassitude and slumber, those of pride and disdain; there are those of idolatry, which makes an idol of all belonging to the conqueror; and there are those of narrowness, which forsakes the mighty river of Christian life, to confine itself in paltry conduits.

Having thus glanced at Germany and England, I hasten onward to Scotland.

I traversed England, from London to Newcastle, in one short day, thanks to the railroads! I often went forty-eight miles in one hour, three times the distance from Geneva to the other end of our lake. I flew like an arrow through the delightful and celebrated landscapes of Derbyshire, and waved my hand, as I passed by, to the majestic towers of

the ancient Minster of York. The next day, for want of better accommodation, I took my seat in one of those heavy vehicles of the Middle Ages, called mails, or stage-coaches, and proceeded slowly, by comparison, although at full gallop, from Newcastle to Edinburgh. After crossing the Border, the magnificent ruins of Jedburgh Abbey, one of the finest remains of Saxon architecture, soon attracted my notice. These ruins of olden time, which appeared before me the moment I entered Scotland, after having crossed the desert moors which divide it from England, made a deep impression upon me. I seemed to hear a voice from them saying to me: "Thou art setting thy foot upon an ancient land, and it is not only the present times which thou must behold there, but those also which are no more!"

Yet I must not forget the present. After having passed within sight of Abbotsford, celebrated as the residence of Walter Scott, we arrived in Edinburgh. It was the day on which the Queen's birth-day is kept; there were great rejoicings in the streets, and fireworks were thrown against the coach. I had not yet alighted, when I perceived amidst the crowd a head already whitened by age, with a lively eye and benevolent smile. It was Chalmers, that man who for these thirty years has been all over Europe the representative of Scotland; he had had the kindness to come and meet me. The hearty welcome of this venerable Christian, with whom I was not before personally acquainted, and who adds to his great genius the simplicity of a child, affected me even to tears. Thenceforward I loved Chalmers as a brother, and reverenced him as a father. I was united to him, to his church, to his people, by a powerful bond of affection. A month afterwards, having gone to spend my last two days in Scotland with Chalmers, in a delightful village at Fairlie, on the sea-shore, opposite the mountains of Arran, I repaired to Greenock, to meet the steamer which was to carry me to Liverpool; and, notwithstanding the distance, notwithstanding his age, and a heavy rain, (a Greenock day, as they call it

there,) Chalmers would see me to my cabin, and did not leave me till the signal was given for our departure. Chalmers was the first and the last whom I saw in Scotland. If I recall this cordial welcome, it is not only for the sake of doing honor to this friend; I merely point to the venerable Edinburgh patriarch as the type of Scottish hospitality.

Here am I, then, in Edinburgh, the most picturesque of all the towns which I have ever visited. Its situation has been compared to that of Athens, but it is added that the modern Athens is far superior to the ancient. Edinburgh, built upon the two brows of a large terrace, presents the most wonderful perspective. If from that beautiful Prince's Street, which separates the Old Town from the New, you turn towards the south, you have before you the old Edinburgh, with its historic walls, its colleges, its hospitals, its ancient towers, and those houses that, from the side on which you now look, have as many as fourteen stories, while on the other they have but two or three; you see those narrower streets, in which you must seek the memorials of the city, and in particular the residence of Knox, around which the Free Church has lately purchased a site, to raise to the Reformer of Scotland a monument worthy of him, two churches and a school. Geneva is not doing as much for Calvin!

Such is the view which from the New Town we have of the Old. But, if I change my position, and climb to the heights of the Old Town, and look back to the place I have just left, on the north side to the New Town, I then see a very different prospect: squares, gardens, magnificent streets, adorned as it were with palaces; and, at the corner of two of them, the hospitable abode in which Archibald B—— received me like a brother; that house, which, during the sitting of the Assembly, never ceased to be filled with friends, from breakfast time until after evening worship, between eleven and twelve; the crowd renewed at every moment, so that it was rare to see the same face twice, and it might have been called a very *caravanserai* of Christian friends, where

every one is free to enter. Farther on, I beheld the Frith of Forth; the sea, with its islands, its rocks, its vessels traversing it in all directions; towns, light-houses; and all around me in the distance the shadows of the Ochills and the Pentlands, and the rugged summits of the Grampians.

But what, even to a Swiss, is most striking in Edinburgh, and especially when walking in the cool groves of the valley which separates the Old Town from the New, is that mountain, which, in the very midst of the city, shoots up its immense and abrupt walls of rock, which an Irishman described as being *more* than perpendicular. You wander amid Scotch firs, (we call them here Genevese pines; Geneva and Scotland have both joined in giving their own name to their favorite tree,) you contemplate the base of the mountain, you climb from rock to rock, you hide yourself under their shadow and dive into their recesses, you fancy yourself in one of the most picturesque and most distant solitudes of our Alps; in some secluded glen of the Valais, of the Oberland, or of Glaris, beside the Glaciers: you look up, and palaces surround you!

But what are those ancient walls which I see perched upon the summit of these bold rocks? What is that loud blast of the trumpet which re-echoes from the heights? What mean the bands of armed Highlanders, who, clothed in their picturesque costume, ascend and descend the mountain? These walls are the *castrum puellarum*, the camp of the maidens, where in ancient times the Pictish kings, as the tradition tells us, placed their daughters to be educated in these inaccessible heights, safe from the tumults and the wars of the plain; it is the old Castle of Edinburgh, which has been as the kernel to the town, that has gradually germinated around it. More than once in critical circumstances for the country, during the thirteenth, fourteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, armies have spread their banners around this lofty fortress; and now, all that remains of those historical times, are the royal jewels of Scotland,—the

crown, the sceptre and the sword,—which, having been found by accident, and in a dark room, are now exhibited at noonday to visitors by the red glare of lamps.

But how many more memorials are there in Edinburgh! Coming down from the Castle, along the High Street and the Canongate, which join the two most remarkable edifices of the metropolis, Edinburgh Castle and Holyrood Palace, I find the ancient cathedral of St. Giles, near whose Gothic walls lie the remains of Knox, and whose lofty aisles have witnessed so many celebrated events of Scottish history. Continuing my walk, I reach the palace of Holyrood, situated between the splendid Calton Hill, which commands the sea, and on which stand the monuments of Nelson, and of other famous men, and where a strong wind is always blowing; and on the other side Arthur's Seat, that picturesque mountain which reminds us of our Salève on a smaller scale. Here, then, is Holyrood, that ancient abode of so much grandeur, of so much beauty, of so many painful and terrible remembrances. Here are the half destroyed walls of that chapel, whose graceful ruins are a sad but significant monument of the desire of the Stuarts to introduce Prelacy and Popery into Scotland, and of the fruitlessness with which efforts so uncongenial must ever be attended. But the great name which seems to hover over Holyrood, is that of the unfortunate Mary Stuart. We see her bed, her dressing table, and her work. Every moment you meet with this name in Scotland. "Here," they say, pointing to some fine ruins, "Here Mary Stuart was born." "There, very near Edinburgh, Mary often resided." They have given the name of Little France to the village in which the French guards were lodged. Nations keep the remembrance of those who do them evil, better than that of those who have done them good. Thus, near the Gulf of Baiæ, not far from Naples, you still find everywhere the memorials of Nero; there are Nero's baths, Nero's grotto, Nero's palace; and farther on,

Nero, Tiberius, the Cape of Misene. The poets describe with exactness the places in which tyrants resided.

> Cæsar Tiberius
> In Misenensem villam
> Quæ monte summo posita Luculli manu,
> Prospectat Siculum, et despicit Tuscum mare.

Thus, Scotland everywhere recalls Mary Stuart. "But the memory of the just alone is blessed." I shall have another opportunity of speaking of the recollections which Mary Stuart has left in Holyrood. I now leave Edinburgh, and turn to the Scottish people.

II.

SCOTTISH DOCTRINE.

A DISTINGUISHED theologian, Dr. Sack, has said, that the predominant principle in the English is the soul, ψυχη—the principle of life, of thought, of voluntary motion in man; and in the Scotch the mind, πνευμα—that spiritual being by which man enters into relation with God and the invisible world. The Englishman, according to him, would lean more towards reality, the Scotchman towards ideality. As this distinction might lead to a deeper study and discussion than we can now enter upon, I shall not dwell upon it.

I found the Scotchman kind, cordial, hospitable, active, and generous. If I had accepted all the invitations which were given me in Scotland, to spend only a few days with each, I should certainly have been there until now. What excellent people; what love, what Christian life, what zeal, what devotedness among all those kind friends by whom I was surrounded! I only regretted that what might have filled up a year was crowded into a few days. I was more especially struck by the energy of this people,—their energy of feeling, of words, and of action. There is still something

of the old Scots and Picts in these Christians of the nineteenth century. Christianity has sunk deeper into them than into any other nation; but you see that the Christian sap has been transfused into them, not from the weakened offshoots of the Romans, but from a young, vigorous, and indigenous stock. This union of natural energy, with that energy which comes from above, can alone explain the Church of Scotland, and what she is now doing. The Scotchman has even the defects of his good qualities. If there are any who are suspicious, violent, intolerant, or bitter, they are not so by halves. This is to be found in the most legitimate controversies; as in the Apocryphal controversy, for instance, which, although founded on justice, was sometimes carried beyond all reasonable bounds. The same may perhaps be said of more recent discussions.

The religious feeling which I pointed out as an essential characteristic of the people of Great Britain, is still more decided in the north; and while the Englishman is sometimes inclined to asceticism and mysticism (the Puseyite movement is with some purely ascetic), the Scotchman has certain aspirations, certain poetical desires, as to religious and invisible things; and every one is familiar with that species of visionary prophecy, called in Scotland *second sight*.

Scotland appears to me to present the best proof of the Reformation. I do not mean that nothing is wanting in it. But, comparatively speaking, it is, of all Protestant nations, that in which the Gospel has worked the best, and in which its effects have been the most durable. This gives to Scotland a great importance in that Christian restoration which we should wish our age to witness. Though Scotland should not be for us the model country (it is in ages further back, in the primitive times of Christianity, that the model of the church is to be sought), it is perhaps destined at the present period to be the vanguard of Christ's army.

What, then, has secured to the Church of Scotland this eminent rank? I hesitate not to reply, "Her attachment to

sound doctrine." When we see how important the church question is in Scotland, and that for the sake of this question a large number of ministers have forsaken all, we may perhaps be disposed to think that the country takes no great interest in doctrine. Quite the reverse! It is because doctrine is placed so high in Scotland, that the church meets with so much sympathy. Wherever doctrine is not cared for, the people care little for the church, and a miserable *esprit de corps* alone remains, which is the most opposed of any to a Christian spirit. The church itself is doctrine. The most characteristic distinction between the Christian church and Paganism, Mahometanism and Deism, either pure or Socinian, is the Christian doctrine, as essentially different from the Pagan, Mahometan, Deistical, or Socinian doctrines. This also distinguishes the Romish from the Protestant church. Observe, when I speak of doctrine, I do not mean a cold, arid, lifeless orthodoxy; I mean "the doctrine which is according to godliness," as the apostle says; that doctrine which produces life, which leads to regeneration, to sanctification, to fellowship with God, and to good works.

The beautiful Westminster Confession is still the exponent of the faith of the Church of Scotland. But doctrine, as it is to be found within the Church of Scotland, is neither an abstract dogma nor an obsolete formula. It is spirit and life. These minds so quick and so penetrating; these intellects so moulded by public life and civil liberty, to great movements and great manifestations; these souls so fresh, so ardent, so energetic, cannot take delight in that phantom of orthodoxy which we have seen on the Continent subsisting long after the life of faith had disappeared. The critical, exegetical, patristic, or historical element, which characterizes Germany, does not, it is true, exist to the same degree in Scotland; yet we must not therefore expect to find an external and superficial theology. There is more real theology, that is to say, knowledge of God, in Scotland, than in Germany. You will find the fundamental basis of faith laid down with great wis-

dom and great energy; you will find an incomparable firmness in the development of the whole Christian system, a clear and penetrating spirit, which distinguishes, explains, and characterizes every dogma and every question with remarkable distinctness; and, over all, you will find a steadiness and assurance which does one good, after being accustomed to see so many theologians in Germany and elsewhere, hesitating and contradicting themselves, being like "children tossed to and fro, and carried about by every wind of doctrine."

The Scottish theologian places himself at once in the centre of the Christian doctrine; it is on faith in the reconciliation by the expiatory sacrifice of Christ that he takes his stand. This grand dogma, which tells us at once of the sin of man and the grace of God; this fundamental doctrine, which contains, on the one hand, the consciousness of our guilt, and, on the other, the assurance of an irrevocable counsel of mercy and salvation, is the vivifying centre of Scotch theology. Faith in the Lamb of God, who has borne the sins of the world; this is the milk with which the Scottish child is fed in the schools of the towns, the mountains, and the plains; and the strong meat, whose nourishing juices are dispensed by the theologians of Edinburgh or Glasgow to the future ministers of the church.

But if Christ, once dead, is the groundwork of the edifice, Christ now living is its corner-stone. If there are some countries in Christendom which worship Christ as much in his death and as a victim (which there certainly are), I think that there are none which honor Christ in his imperishable life as King so much as the Church of Scotland. Christ is to the Scotch the High Priest, ever living, incessantly interceding for His people. He is with them the Prince who truly reigns over the church; and they are quite in earnest in taking Him for their King. Nay, more, Christ is also for the Scotch, He who will "come quickly." Without, perhaps, entering so much as the English into millenial questions

and Apocalyptical calculations (which I do not mean to despise, but which, as has been observed, may sometimes be carried to excess), the Scottish Christians, more perhaps than any other people, look forward with hope and joy to the approaching coming of the Saviour.

III.

WORSHIP.

Let us take a nearer view of the religion of this people. Let us enter one of the temples wherein a Christian congregation is worshipping the Lord, and bow down with them before the throne of grace.

If you happen to be within a Scottish church, the worship edifies, and even awes you, by its great simplicity, by the devout attention of the flock, and by the singing of psalms carefully performed by the faithful, but without the aid of an organ. This instrument is almost a Romish superstition in the eyes of the Scotch. The preacher commences his discourse, and what strikes you is, not the oratorical arrangement or the brilliant imagery—the Scottish minister, on the contrary, aims at great plainness—but what is presented to you is a series of thoughts well conceived and well ordered. The only observation I have to make is, that occasionally the ramifications of these thoughts are perhaps carried to an extreme. I heard a Scotch sermon which was like a tree, and the comparison is certainly not unfavorable; the doctrine was exhibited in full detail; there was not only the stem, and the limbs, and the branches, but even the smallest bough, the slightest stalk, the tiniest leaf. The idea, the doctrine, was divided and subdivided almost to extinction. I hasten to say that it was not during my last journey, but some eight or nine years ago, that I heard a sermon of this kind on justification by faith, preached by a Minister of the Presbyterian Church in London, who, with a voice like

thunder, presented the most minute and orthodox analysis, and in which truly nothing was wanting, nothing, excepting the essential—the life. I would have given anything to have had fewer distinctions, orthodox as they were, and in their stead one single sigh—one burst of the soul. May God preserve our churches from a new scholasticism, more pure, indeed, than the former, but which, nevertheless would be their death!

In Scotland the discourses, and especially the prayers, are rather long; the latter, in my opinion, too much so. A Christian alone in his closet may pray for a quarter, a half, a whole hour, or more; but when a large assembly has been praying for ten or fifteen minutes, are not most of the hearers unable to follow the prayer, except on extraordinary occasions, and sadly liable to wandering thoughts? On the Continent, at least, it would be thus. Now, a minister must be all things to all men, and accommodate himself to the weaknesses of a large auditory.

All things considered, better preachers are to be found in Scotland than in any other country of Christendom. We generally see, mingled in due proportion, in the discourses of the Scottish preachers, those two elements which constitute all Christian eloquence—the objective truth on the one hand, and the individuality of the preacher on the other. The development of the latter principle, the subjective element, is very prominent among some of the leading men in Scotland; and this it is which constitutes their eloquence, but not to the injury of the other. Perhaps, on the contrary, among the mass of the preachers, the former element is too predominant.

I had the high satisfaction during my stay in Scotland of hearing Dr. Chalmers. You know that he was a minister of Glasgow, first in the Tron Church, and afterwards in St. John's. Dr. Brown, his friend, and successor in the latter church, having left the Establishment in 1843, his people built him a Free church, in which they studiously endeavored to give the architecture a certain style of elegance, in order, no doubt, to show what can be done in our own day

by the free contributions of Christians. The steeple, tower, and façade, of this building, make it one of the finest in Scotland. I will not here repeat passages of the sermon; I have already spoken of Chalmers; and, besides, some of his discourses, translated into French by Professor Diodati, one of the best preachers of Geneva, are known to every body. But what I would say is, that it was the last time Chalmers preached in Glasgow, where he had first begun to be known to the Christian world. You can imagine the desire felt in that city to hear him; the crowds that gathered from all quarters; but you can have no idea of the order and the devotion of the Assembly. The collection, on leaving the church, amounted to 40,000 francs (1600*l.*), for the morning service only; there was another in the afternoon, and one in the evening. These 40,000 francs, thrown into the plate at the church door by Christians who, to build this church, had already taxed themselves extraordinarily in considerable sums, is a characteristic feature of the Free Church of Scotland. On leaving the church, Chalmers took my arm, and we retired together. A great crowd gathered in the wide streets of Glascow, to behold the venerable and humble doctor, the pride of Scotland, and we could with difficulty make our way along.

There is in the Scottish worship an element of liberty. It is the expression of the free-will and the Christian piety of the congregation—there is no liturgy. On certain occasions they even preach in the streets, in the highways, in the open air, and always with admirable order, and without those railleries and insults which would not be wanting in many countries of the Continent. One Sunday, while I was in Edinburgh, there was a service in Gaelic (the language of the Highlands), under a tent; I went near, but without understanding one word of it. These Highlanders, with their short kilts, bare legs, plaids thrown over their shoulders, and raised heads, covered with their characteristic bonnet, presented a most picturesque spectacle.

After speaking of sermons, shall I take you to the celebration of the Lord's Supper in Scotland? The Scotch hold that we cannot change the least thing in the sacrament which Christ has instituted, without offending against His kingship. They think that the Supper celebrated by the Lord with his disciples, was a true repast, and ought now to be remembered by us in the position natural to a meal, that is, neither kneeling nor standing, but sitting. I had a very fraternal discussion on this subject with a Scotch minister. I will not dispute the principle on which they act—I admit it—I shall only observe that in the Supper there can be no question of servile imitation; if it were so, the Scotch themselves should be rebuked; for the disciples were not sitting, they were, according to the Eastern custom, reclining on small couches. I will add that there are two positions in which we may place ourselves when about to eat. When hurried, on a journey, or even in haste at home, we eat standing. Thus was the sacrament of the Paschal Lamb originally instituted. "Thus shall ye eat it," said the Lord to Moses, "with your loins girded, your shoes on your feet, and your staff in your hand; and ye shall eat in haste: it is the Lord's Passover." This standing posture to eat the Passover, which is the one we still adopt, well represents our deliverance from the bondage of sin, as well as the necessity of marching onward from that moment to meet Him whose death we are to "show forth until He come." If, when standing at the Supper, we think of the things signified thereby, it would be, I am sure, a source of much edification.

The Lord's Supper in Scotland, which is celebrated in the most complete silence, is very solemn, and recalls in a satisfactory manner its first institution. It is kept only twice a year, and the Church of Scotland is thus distinguished from the Lutheran and Anglican churches, in which it is repeated every week, or at least every month. Each of these two customs has its advantages. Frequent communion, more in accordance with the habit of the primitive Christians, seems

more appropriate to select and truly Christian flocks; while the contrary system, which makes the days of its celebration periods of general penitence and solemnities of Christian brotherhood, is most appropriate to multitudinous churches.

It is only, however, to a certain extent that the Church of Scotland deserves this latter name; ecclesiastical discipline is enforced in the established, as well as in the free and the dissenting churches. This ecclesiastical discipline may be exaggerated; and it has sometimes been harsh, domineering, and superstitious. But there is a right discipline; the care taken of the salvation, of the sanctification, of the Christian life of every one by the directors of a church, whether ministers or elders; the watchful love which they bear to the eternal life of the church members,—a serious love, which would prevent them from eating and drinking judgment to themselves, by partaking unworthily of the bread and the cup of the Lord. On the Continent the Protestant churches in general profess to believe, that only two things are essential to a church: Firstly, the profession of true doctrine; and secondly, the administration of the sacraments conformably to Christ's institution. Wherever these things are not to be found, there may be a religious establishment maintained by the civil power, but there is no true church of the Lord. It is allowed, however, on the Continent, that a church which has a discipline, is a better, a more perfect, a normal church. It is not so with the Church of Scotland. With her, discipline is a qualification which the church cannot be without. The first Confession of Faith of Scotland, speaking in the eighteenth chapter "Of the Notes by which the True Kirk is discerned from the False," states, first, the two signs we have pointed out, and then adds, in the last place, "Ecclesiastical discipline uprightly ministered, as God his word prescribeth, whereby vice is repressed and virtue nourished."*

* Postremo loco est disciplina ecclesiastica recte administrata. (Conf. Scot. I. 18.)

In Scotland, as formerly in Geneva, the church rebukes, and even, if necessary, excludes from the Holy Supper, those who have fallen into any scandalous sin. The great solemnity of the Communion makes such an exclusion the more sensibly felt, and thus discipline keeps in the path of duty many persons who might otherwise easily go astray. Often when a father comes to ask for baptism for his child, he is answered, "You are an unclean person, or a drunkard; what assurance have we that you will bring up your child in the fear of the Lord?" The strictness of the Scotch in this respect is the more natural, as they have no godfathers and godmothers to take care of the child, if the parents neglect it. They regard this institution as opposed to the headship of Christ, who never commanded it; and they place it in the same rank as the refusal of the cup in the Romish Church, or the invention of the five sacraments unrecognized by the Lord. This is, I think, going rather too far: it is natural that baptism should have witnesses, and with us the godfather and godmother are nothing more.

As to the instruction of the people, it is much more generally diffused in Scotland than in England. The Bible and the Catechism are familiar to every Scottish child. Scotland, Holland, and our French Switzerland, which are the three countries in which the Reformation was the most complete and the most pure, are also of all the countries of Christendom, nay, even of the world, those over which intellectual culture is the most universally spread. I have entered a poor hut in the Highlands, built of a few rough stones, scarcely rising above the ground, and roofed with turf, and beside which one of our châlets would be almost a palace, and I have found in it people of pleasing manners and of a remarkable cultivation, which formed a striking contrast with their poverty. A pure and living Christian church is the greatest blessing that can be granted to a people,—it is the only instrument fitted to civilize nations.

IV.

THE CHURCH AND THE PALACE.

The most striking thing in Scotland, at the present time, is the division which took place in her national church in 1843. It is now divided into two parts: the one half remaining Established, that is, connected with, and more or less subordinate to, the government; the other having become Free, resembling what has lately happened in the Canton de Vaud. These two parts of the National Church of Scotland have about an equal number of adherents. Though even the Established Church were the more numerous, (and I do not think it is,) the difference would be compensated by the zeal and fervor of the members of the Free Church. In such a case we weigh, we do not measure.

At the time when I arrived in Edinburgh the two churches were drawn up in array. Their two General Assemblies (we should call them their two synods) were holding their sittings at the same time, and I saw both of them.

I do not mean to speak here as the exclusive friend of one of these churches, and the enemy of the other. I do not conceal my sympathy with the principles and the works of the Free Church, but I wish to do justice to the Established Church. This church, transported to the Continent, would be, both as regards doctrine and constitution, in advance of many of our national churches; more so, for instance, than a great part of the churches of Germany in their present state; than the reformed churches of France; and, it is needless to add, more advanced than those of Geneva and Vaud. We continentals can have, therefore, no right to throw a stone at her. I respect many of the men who are in the Established Church of Scotland. I should like to see Scotland united; and which of her sons does not share in such a wish? Far from delighting to set the two churches

against each other, like two hostile camps, I would rather see them draw towards each other like two sisters, and combine into one church, independent of political power. This is the best wish, I am convinced, that can be formed for Scotland,—for her prosperity, her holiness, and her glory.

The great distinction of the Established Church is the splendor that surrounds her. A state like that of Great Britain is no contemptible matter; and there can be little doubt, that to be the church recognized by the state, and kept up by its favor, is a kind of glory, by which many minds on the Continent would be swayed. To see in her temples, when she visits Scotland, Queen Victoria, that sovereign of the Indies and of the seas; to have on her side the greatest statesmen, such as Peel and Aberdeen, the two houses of parliament of the most powerful nation of the globe, and the most illustrious and the most learned lords—are honors by which, for my own part, I own myself but little impressed, but which must, nevertheless, be a great distinction in the eyes of many.

Holyrood, the ancient palace of the Scottish kings, is seldom opened except during the General Assembly of the Established Church: but it is then filled with guards and officers; while a royal Lord High Commissioner there represents the queen. The Marquis of Bute, a Scottish nobleman, respected by all parties, has for some years filled that important office.

I saw both parties, and must now, as characteristic of Scotland at present, say something of them. I beg to be excused if I am personally mixed up with them.

I begin with the Established Church, and equity requires me to say that I have rather beheld her in her relations with the state, than in herself: these relations are what especially distinguishes her, and must consequently most attract the attention of a foreigner.

The Lord High Commissioner had the kindness to invite me, through the Moderator, Dr. Hill, to go and pay my re-

spects to him. A stranger in the country, I could only hasten to offer my homage to the queen's representative. A carriage of the court came to fetch us, and the Moderator and I arrived at the palace at his Grace's levee about ten o'clock. We crossed the courts, the halls and anti-chambers of that ancient edifice, and reached a spacious saloon, where stood the Lord High Commissioner, in full dress, surrounded by several noblemen, officers, and other persons, who were paying their respects to him. A personage, wearing a black, antique, and singular costume, who was, I think, the master of the ceremonies, presented me to the Marquis of Bute, who, with much kindness, addressed me in French, and invited me to dine the same day at the palace. I accepted the invitation and withdrew.

One of the officers of the court followed and said to me, "We are going to the General Assembly; stay a moment, and you will go with his Grace." I thought proper to refuse, for several reasons, especially (this was what I alleged) because I had made an engagement to see in the course of the morning the Castle, the Parliament House, the University, and other curiosities of Edinburgh. "Well," said one of the elders of the Established Church, with whom I had travelled from Newcastle to Edinburgh, and who had very kindly welcomed me, "I will come and meet you at the Castle; we will go and see the rest of the lions together, and among others, the General Assembly." I thanked him, and agreed. I preferred walking quietly into the Assembly to going in the Queen's carriage with her representative. It was too high an honor for me.

When, after having seen the Castle and the Parliament House, we arrived at the church in which the Established General Assembly was sitting; "As you were presented to his Grace this morning," said my friend; "we will go to his platform." I should have preferred a more modest place, but it was impossible: a door immediately opened before us, and we were admitted to our seats, I on the right, and

my companion on the left of the throne of the Lord High Commissioner.

The platform in which I was seated rises majestically over the Moderator's chair, as if to represent the superiority of the state over the church. The Commissioner's throne is placed under a rich canopy of crimson velvet. Behind him stand two little pages, with powdered hair, in full court dresses of scarlet; in the background were several officers in waiting. The Marquis of Bute, who was in an adjoining room when we arrived, entered almost immediately after. Below the throne was the Assembly, besides the ministers, the elders, and a few advocates in their gowns and wigs, representing the courts of law which now exert so great an influence over the Established Church. As for the audience or spectators, they were very few in number, scattered here and there in the nave; and in the galleries there were none.

"Rari nantes in gurgite vasto."

At the sight of so much grandeur, and at the same time so much coldness, one could not help inquiring whether this Assembly, which had in its favor the pompous representation of power, possessed also the cordial sympathies of the people. However, I was told, that in the evening there were more spectators present. After having for a short time listened to their debates, the subject of which I do not remember, I rose, made a low bow to his Grace, and retired.

It was a general wish that I would make a speech before this Established Assembly. My friend, Mr. Frederic Monod, the delegate from Paris, and I, had even received a deputation to that effect. We thought it right to refuse. In the first place, it was to the Free Church that we had been deputed; and I was not even aware that the Established Church was sitting, until the very moment of my arrival in Edinburgh. Besides, we perceived that such was the state of the public mind in Scotland, that we must absolutely

make a choice; and thus we had only to keep within the limits of our commission. In fact, neither of these churches look with complacency on those who are undecided; and this is very natural. Some colonial churches of Australia, having, after much hesitation and wavering between the Establishment and the Free Church, decided at last upon belonging to "both Assemblies:" this resolution, was not only repulsed disdainfully by the Established, but received in the Free Assembly, while I was present, with shouts of laughter. I had no wish for either of these fates. Besides, what could I have said in the Established Church? It would have been against my conscience not to speak in all sincerity; and yet my remarks would have been out of place before so august a body. I repeat, I should like to see once more, and at no distant day, a united Assembly; still I think that, under the circumstances, Mr. Monod and I took the only course honorable and possible. And in fact, the deputies of the Established Church, who behaved towards us with much consideration and nobleness, said to us, "Had we been in your place we should have acted as you did."

In the evening I returned to the palace, to the state dinner. In one of the most spacious halls of Holyrood stood an immense table magnificently covered. There might have been about eighty guests. The Lord High Commissioner was seated in the middle, and by his side were placed two Scottish lords. Opposite to him was the Moderator, and on his right hand I was seated. On the other side I had the Hebraist, Dr. Lee, one of the most famous and amiable professors of the University of Edinburgh. Many toasts were given for the Queen, the Church, Scotland, &c. There were only men present, but the Lord High Commissioner invited six or eight of the guests to take coffee with the Marchioness of Bute, in her apartment, and had the kindness to include me in the number. Some time after we retired, and the Marquis accompanied me to the door of the drawing-room with the kindest expressions.

V.

THE FREE ASSEMBLY.

I now leave the Assembly of the Established Church, surrounded by all the pomp of royalty, and turn to that of the Free Church. I repeat it, I wish to be impartial, and I think I have been and am so, notwithstanding what some persons may say.* I can respect and admire the science of Dr. Lee, the grace of Dr. Hill, the seriousness of Dr. Muir, the eloquence of Mr. MacLeod, and the many other eminent qualities that are to be found in this church. But ought a traveller to carry impartiality so far as to conceal the impressions he has received from the things he has seen? I do not think he ought, and were I to do so the distinguished men I have just named would themselves be the first to condemn me. I will, therefore, speak without partiality and without fear.

On passing from one Assembly to the other, we feel that the state and its power, the nobility and their influence, are with the Established Church; and certainly this is something. The Free Church has on her side the people and their enthusiasm; but let us not forget that among this people there are to be found influential merchants and manufacturers, enlightened lawyers, respectable magistrates, and nobles belonging to the most illustrious houses of Scotland.

Perhaps the union of Scotland with England, which removed the seat of government, and afterwards the parliament itself from Edinburgh to London, may have contributed to direct the attention of the Scottish people to church mat-

* I was surprised to see the contrary opinion expressed by the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, on the occasion of an honor which it was intended to confer on me. I can assure the Scotch, that an act of the Town Council of Edinburgh is not necessary to my becoming their countryman. However that may be, I am at heart their *fellow-citizen*.

ters. The meeting of the General Assembly of the church, which takes place every year in Edinburgh at the end of May, has become the greatest solemnity of Scotland. The Assembly sits for ten days, Sunday excepted, from eleven o'clock till midnight, or sometimes two o'clock in the morning; and if at that late hour any person wishes to retire before the closing prayer, one of the clerks cries, "Lock the doors!" and he must stay. It is true, that at ten o'clock in this country it is still light enough to read. All church business is publicly transacted in the General Assembly; and in the Free Church, before an immense auditory, often of four thousand persons.

I wish I could give an idea of the first sitting of the Free General Assembly at which I was present. It was known that Dr. Chalmers, who had lately announced his intention of devoting himself exclusively to his functions of professor of theology, and of retiring from all other public business, would on that occasion raise his venerated voice (some thought for the last time) to introduce three foreign ministers, sent to Scotland from France, Switzerland, and Germany. They could not certainly do us greater honor than appoint Chalmers to introduce us. The thought of hearing once more this venerable old man, whose life had been so full of action and of power, and whose voice (a fact before unheard of in the history of the church) had, as if endowed with magic power, twice covered the whole of his country with temples consecrated to the Lord; perhaps also the thought of saluting the foreigners, had drawn together an extraordinary concourse. The Free General Assembly meets in a plain, modest, but vast building, formerly destined, I believe, for a manufactory, situated at Cannon Mills, at the foot of a hill on a picturesque road leading to the sea, towards Fife. The hall is low, which renders the atmosphere stifling; but it is very spacious. Under its bare rafters and rude beams, which form a strong contrast with the desert magnificence of the Established Assembly; with no throne, no Lord

High Commissioner, no powdered pages, was assembled, on the evening of the 18th of May, an immense auditory enthusiastic for the church and for liberty.

The ministers and elders, members of this great synod, who are very numerous, were seated round the table and the Moderator's chair. A Christian people filled the rest of the hall. A number of ministers and elders, not members of Assembly, had come to Edinburgh from different parts of the country on this occasion, and after the morning meeting, many ladies and gentlemen had intruded into the benches for the evening sitting. No one enters without a ticket, which may cost as much as ten francs, and the hall is generally filled. I shall never forget the moment we entered,—my friend, Mr. Frederic Monod, of Paris, the Rev. Mr. Kuntze, of Berlin, and I, following Chalmers's steps. Not only every seat, but every passage was full; and even where there was no possibility of standing, some had found means of suspending themselves; and groups of heads pressed together, heaped up, and piled one above another, rose like an amphitheatre from the floor to the roof. Long before the commencement of business, there was no getting in, whatever price was offered for a ticket, and a crowd surrounded the entrances without being able to hear any thing. We advanced slowly, headed by Dr. Chalmers, as it was necessary for the dense crowd to open and allow us a passage. Some one was reading at that moment a report of the committee for the propagation of Christianity among the Jews; but the instant Dr. Chalmers appeared, a general movement interrupted the reporter. The audience rose, shouted, clapped their hands, stamped, and waved hats and handkerchiefs. I can speak of this, for I shared not in these acclamations; I had arrived only the day before, and nobody knew my face. Whenever Chalmers or any other personage, either a Scotchman or a stranger, who attracts much attention, appears in the hall, he receives the same salutation, unless they are either praying, reading the Scriptures, or singing, in which

case all goes on in perfect silence; but if an orator is speaking, or a report is being read, the business, whatever it may be, is forgotten, and the only way of preventing this noisy interruption is to glide behind some high benches, holding down your head, and thus slipping unperceived into the place you are to occupy. The same enthusiastic demonstrations often burst forth in the midst of the speeches of the most eloquent orators. The moment some powerful expression, some "winged word," strikes the assembly, it acts like a waterspout falling on a calm and quiet sea. The waters move and rise; the waves roll onward and rush together, now falling, and now dashing furiously upwards. A Scottish assembly is no corpse that nothing can move, as our own too often are; it is a living body of extreme sensibility, which will start at the slightest touch. Yes: these multitudes feeling so deep an interest in the debates of the church, for the cause of the people of God, is a spectacle which even the world does not present, when political debates are in progress, and the earthly interests of nations are at stake. Neither in the Houses of Parliament in London, nor in the Palais Bourbon in Paris, is to be seen any thing like what is witnessed in the Cannon Mills at Edinburgh. Let us, therefore, respect these noisy exhibitions, however extraordinary they may appear to us. It is right that the church should somewhere show to that world which so often sneers at her, that she is able to feel more enthusiasm for the cause of Christ, than the world does for social and material interests.

We thus advanced, following the gray head of Chalmers: a Parisian newspaper, "l'Espérance," (generally Christian, but rather high church,) took an opportunity, in a report of this meeting, to speak jestingly of the circumstances. "The hoary head," Solomon declares, "is a crown of glory."

Chalmers, as he said at the time, felt as if that were the most interesting moment of his existence. Can I avoid repeating his eloquent and energetic discourse? Can I, for instance, keep back these words addressed so particularly to

Geneva? "I know not how it is," exclaimed Chalmers, "there is no geographical relation between Geneva and Scotland: Geneva is not much in the way, but certainly there is a strong historical relation between them. Why, in former days, as by an electric spark from Geneva, the moment that Knox landed upon our shores, a flame was awakened, which quickly spread itself over all the provinces of Scotland. Could that flame be again awakened, the cause of truth might again prevail over the counsels of the ungodly, as it did centuries ago, when in the days of Mary and of James, it prevailed over the perfidy of courts!"

Chalmers went still farther. His great name has been throughout both Scotland and England, as upon the Continent, the apology of the Free Church. Many were unable to study the whole details of the question; but Chalmers, one of the most philosophical minds, and one of the most Christian souls of our age, was upon that side; this was sufficient to make them say, "There lies the truth;" and I should not be surprised, if the thought that a Corresponding Member of the Institute of France was at the head of this movement, had some influence in biasing the *Journal des Dêbats* in its favor, as shown in a remarkable article which appeared in it at the time of the disruption. The adversaries of the Free Church laying hold of the fact that Chalmers, on account of his age, had retired from the Financial Committee, were saying, when I arrived in England, that he had had enough of it, and that he was drawing back. The doctor thought it his duty, such is my opinion at least, to embrace this opportunity of declaring, that his sentiments were still the same, and he did so with precision and energy. "What I have to say may look a little hard and exclusive; nevertheless I will not forget the apostolic admonition of 'first pure, then peaceable,'—it may look a little hard and exclusive; but I do confess to you that I regard as co-ordinate errors, standing upon the same level, antichristian Erastianism on the one hand, and popery on the other;

(that is to say, the doctrine which attributes supremacy in the church to the state, and that which attributes it to the priest of Rome.) It is of no consequence to me where the power that claims to be paramount to the Bible springs from, —whether it come from a civil or from an ecclesiastical source; it is still human authority claiming precedence over the dictates of that great directory of our faith." These words of Chalmers deserve to be well weighed.

As for the reproach of a sectarian spirit, which the adversaries of the Free Church have sometimes addressed to her, who is pure, except the Infallible One? I think that in every man, and I will not except myself, there lies the germ of sectarianism. But with regard to the intention of the general spirit of a church, the words which Chalmers next uttered, and the manner in which they were received, are a sufficient answer to this reproach. "I trust," said he, "that you will not charge me with over-liberality, if I say, as I do from my conscience, that among the great majority of evangelical Dissenters in this country, I am not aware of any topics of difference which I do not regard as so many men of straw; and shall be exceedingly delighted if these foreign gentlemen get the hearts of the various denominations to meet together, and consult to make a bonfire of them."

Here enthusiastic cheers, the voice (as it were) of the Free Church, interrupted the speaker, and thus gave the full sanction of the Assembly to this condemnation of sectarianism. "Yes," resumed Chalmers with energy, the moment that he was allowed to proceed; "while I deprecate the latitudinarianism that would lay too little stress on what is important, I feel, as if I could not sufficiently deprecate and denounce the evil of that ultra and exclusive sectarianism which lays too great stress upon what is insignificant, and the suppression of which would remove a mighty obstacle which at present lies in the way of a visible union of Christians."

VI.

SPEECHES OF THE DEPUTIES.

Mr. Monod, Mr. Kuntze, and I, spoke in succession. I will not repeat all our speeches (I think mine lasted above an hour). They have been embodied in the official report of the General Assembly. My friend, Mr. Monod, gave a very striking picture of continental Popery, that drew upon him a letter from the Romish Bishop of Edinburgh, which he triumphantly answered. As for myself, I will only say, that I endeavored, among other things, to show to our brethren of the Free Church, that they were placed in a very favorable position for becoming the engine of a mighty Christian union, and that God himself was calling them to the work. You know what has since been done: to their Christian activity we owe the meeting at Liverpool and the Evangelical Alliance. I trust that, with God's help, we shall be indebted to them for more ample developments in time to come. Satisfied with having called for this great work in Geneva, in St. Gall, in Edinburgh, in Liverpool, and in London, I now leave it in better hands.

Dr. Gordon, one of the most venerable and respected men in Scotland, after we had done speaking, moved that the Assembly should express its sincere gratitude to Almighty God for his great and unmerited goodness shown to the Free Church of Scotland, by permitting it to enjoy the blessings of Christian and brotherly communion with the churches and evangelical societies of other countries. "The best wish I can express for the brethren from foreign lands who have visited us this evening," said he in conclusion, "is, that they may leave it with impressions as deep, as solemn, and as salutary, as those which they have left in the minds of this Assembly."

The moderator, Dr. Macfarlane of Greenock, then rose

and addressed to us the answer of the Assembly with that noble simplicity which characterizes him. "Geneva," he said, addressing himself particularly to me, "Geneva, the city of Farel and Calvin,—had cast off its first love, and had sunk into Arianism and infidelity. You and my beloved brother, Dr. Gaussen, have been two of the honored instruments of reviving in it, evangelical, I trust I may add, spiritual religion. * * * I regard the formation of your Evangelical Society as one of the most interesting events of modern times,—one which, it is to be hoped, will issue in unspeakable blessings, not to Geneva and Switzerland only, but to the continent of Europe."

The Rev. Dr. Brown of Glasgow ended the proceedings with a most simple and deeply affecting prayer. We felt that the Lord was in the midst of us. The auditors, to the number of four or five thousand, raised their voices together to God in a solemn and thrilling strain; and then the Assembly adjourned between one and two o'clock in the morning, without having, for an instant, ceased to exhibit the most earnest attention, and the most lively and Christian interest.

One word more, and I have done. I also can say, like Chalmers, that the 28th of May, 1845, was one of the most interesting moments of my existence. Such days are, no doubt, exciting; perhaps, for that very reason, oppressive to the body: but we are also supported from on High; we enjoy the purest delights; and hence our strength is renewed. I have seen a foreigner, who being drawn into the midst of the movement of this Scottish vortex, during these chosen days, had no longer a thought at his command. Every thing was in a whirl, both within and without; and his only desire was to be quiet and unnoticed, under some pine, in some lonely mountain glen. But this desire of solitude and peace, so natural in the midst of incessant activity, is in a manner realized in Scotland every seven days, for there is every week the day of rest, the Sunday so precious to Scotland, which

refreshes you. Besides, when we remember that the primary and true principle of the bustle and eagerness of these great assemblies is the love of God, and, that the true end of them is the glory of God, we can easily bear the fatigue which accompanies them.

I was ill when I left the Continent, I had been unwell all the winter, and I was but very imperfectly acquainted with the English language in which I had to express my thoughts; yet I set out with the belief that I was fulfilling a duty, and trusting in the Lord. This help never failed me; God carried me in His arms. In one day I had to speak three times before large assemblies, and to set out immediately afterwards to speak in another town; yet, I repeat, He never failed me. The Lord gave me words, strength, and rest; at the same time surrounding me with the most unmerited and valuable kindness. It is good to take Him for a master. We must work, for the Lord has said, "Work while it is day;" but woe to him who glories in his own work! Jesus opened eyes with clay; does the clay think of glorying? Let us labor, if we can, with Peter, with Paul, and with Martha; but, after our labors are ended, let us sit down with David, with John, and with Mary, at the feet of the Master, and say to Him, "Consume with thy fire the impurities I have mingled with my offering, and bring out of it a sweet savor to thine own glory." Yes, there is only one glory, that of being the least in the household of God! May God grant it unto us!

CHAPTER IV.

THE SCOTTISH QUESTION.

1. The Produce of Scotland. Development of Being. The two Influences. The two Swords. Task of the Reformation.—2. Distinctions between the Evangelical and the Moderate Parties. Not in Doctrine. Person of Christ. The two Natures. The Arminian Question.—3. The Church Question. Distinction between Scotland and England. Different Origins of their Churches. Scotland considered from the English point of View. Should Scotland draw nearer to England, or England to Scotland?—4. Doctrine of Scotland respecting the Church. Kingship of Christ. His Laws. His Ministers. Spiritual and Temporal Government. Incapacity of the latter to govern the Church.—5. Government of Christ opposed to that of Antichrist. The Reformation cannot be a mere Negation. The Right of Scotland. The two Principles of the Secession: 1st. Non-intrusion; 2d. Spiritual Independence. A Theorem and two Corollaries. Essential Cause of the Disruption.—6. The Scottish and the Separationist Systems. Differences. Complete and Imperfect. Positive and Negative. Doctrine and Discipline. Effectual and Ineffectual. Claims of the State.—7. Three Phases of the Scottish Church. Conscience and Expediency. Discord not Union. Accusation. Complement. The Solar System.

I.

TWO INFLUENCES.

I HAVE stated my general impressions of Scotland: but is this all I have to say of her? Here are public places, temples, palaces; there, mountains, plains, and lakes. Who are they who frequented those temples, those palaces, those markets? What has taken place on those plains? And what interests have moved the hearts of the inhabitants of

those Highlands? Can I only behold Scotland in the present? No: when first I set my foot on this venerable land, it was the Scotland of three centuries ago that appeared before me.

I have been in Scotland; what shall I bring you from thence? If a traveller returning from distant countries, from the Tropics or from China, brings home to his countrymen the rich productions of their soil, shall I not bring home to you that excellent plant which God has caused to flourish in the Caledonian regions? If another traveller brings from England information as to manners and the laws of political science; and if one in particular of our fellow-citizens, (Delolme,) has rendered himself illustrious by a work, which has contributed to establish constitutional rule in Europe, shall I not bring back to you from Scotland those manners and laws of the church, which so eminently distinguish her among nations?

As I was engaged with various occupations, I might have kept silence, when asked for an account of my journey. But this it is which induces me to speak. Scotland has a mission in the Christian world, and in order that this mission may be accomplished, we should become acquainted with it. If Scotland is intrusted with a mission to the Continent, in what part of the Continent should this mission be recognized and pointed out? Who is called upon to act as mediator between Scotland and the rest of the church, if not Geneva? You have already heard Chalmers upon the relationship existing between Scotland and Geneva.

Every being, in order to prosper, must have a development peculiar to itself, *sui generis*, as it is called. If once foreign influences come to be mingled with it, that development is compromised. It is thus with every plant, every animal, every man, and even with inorganic beings. Ask the Rhone wherefore, after leaving our lake as pure as the sky itself, it becomes so muddy? It is because the sandy torrent coming down from Mont Blanc, mingles its troubled waters

with the azure wave of the river; the confluence, the union defiles it.

The Christian church had at first, like our Rhone, a separate existence, a development of her own, and she was then comparatively pure. But in the beginning of the fourth century, the half Pagan state became united to her, and this juncture immediately threw into the heavenly blue of the church those muddy waters which deform her beauty. The church comes from God; but she is, she must be, on the earth, and therein lies her danger. If you tie her down to the earth, closer than is strictly necessary; if you unite her intimately with civil order: if you give political society a power over her: the evil becomes alarming. The church thenceforth will have two principles of development; on the one hand, the Word and the Spirit of God; on the other, the policy and the diplomacy of the world. How can a society prosper subjected to two such contrary influences? Know you not that in education, homogeneous influence is a primary condition? Know you not that a ship must be carried forward by one current alone; and if a contrary current interfere, the result is a dangerous whirlpool, and perhaps a dreadful gulf in which the ship will be swallowed up. Christ has established the church under one headship, and that is His own.

The state having intermixed its headship in the church since the era of Constantine, political society being interwoven with the spiritual, it became necessary to return to the order of things from whence they set out, and recommence the primitive existence. This was one of the tasks of the sixteenth century.

It was the more indispensable, as this double, half-political, half-spiritual existence, was realized in its greatest completeness in the Papacy. You all know the famous fable of Rome, about the two swords. The Popes pretend that the saying addressed by St. Peter to his master, "Here are two swords," signifies that the spiritual and the temporal power

ought to be united, and united in the hands of the Pope. Certainly St. Peter had little idea of what he was saying.

What is at this moment (1846) agitating the Legations and the States of the Church? It is the desire of separating these two powers—a desire which Rome obstinately resists; knowing that from the moment she is no longer supported by the sword, by musketeers, and, alas! by Swiss, she will fall into contempt, and her end will not be far distant.

In order, therefore, to be a complete work, the Reformation ought to correct that evil.

She has partly done so in Germany, France, and Geneva; but it was especially in Scotland that the church, which ever since the fourth century had led a twofold existence, half civil, half spiritual, like one of the monsters of antiquity, returned to its pure source, and commenced anew a single and divine existence.

Many Protestant churches, depriving the Pope of the supremacy he had usurped, consented that the magistrate or the king should take upon him that jurisdiction, and thus maintain, under another form, that confusion of civil and religious things which is to be found in Popery. The Church of Scotland, on the contrary, asserting that it was the place of Christ himself which the Pope had usurped, resisted every effort made by the political power to take possession of it. This, then, is the point from which diverge the two parties now existing within the national church of Scotland, the Evangelical, and the Moderate party; the former composing the Free Church, the latter the church established by the state.

II.

DOCTRINE.

In fact, the difference between these parties lies not, properly speaking, in doctrine. The Moderate party, though

doubtless less strict and less vital than the other, and though towards the end of the last century very near falling into Arianism, is now in general applying itself to maintain purity of doctrine; and I have often thought, that on the Continent, it would be happy for us if our national churches professed so orthodox a faith. The difference does not arise in Scotland, as in Geneva, France, or Germany, from the one being Unitarian and Pelagian, while the other is orthodox and evangelical: no, all are orthodox in Scotland. Justice requires us to acknowledge this.

One of the most amiable men I met with in Scotland was Dr. Hill, then moderator of the General Assembly of the Established Church, who showed me a kindness which I remember with sincere gratitude. While we were in the carriage which was taking us to the Palace of Holyrood, I asked him if he were any relation to Dr. George Hill, the author of some remarkable Lectures on Divinity. "He was my father," said he, seemingly much pleased that his parent's writings were known on the Continent. There are in Europe, and not far from this place, many academies in which I would fain see professed the doctrines which the late Dr. Hill taught in the University of St. Andrews. This is worth stopping to consider. If it is evident that, what is commonly called, among us, "doctrines essential to salvation," are not implicated in the Scottish question, I am of opinion that the church, which is capable of producing by its individual efforts, movements so considerable and sacrifices so wonderful, must rise the higher in our eyes in grandeur and importance.

Would you, therefore, know what the party opposed to the evangelical—or, as it would here be called, the Methodistical party—taught, and is yet teaching in Scotland, upon the person of Christ? I like to repeat it in this town of Geneva, wherein the divinity of Christ and the Holy Trinity are so obstinately combated and denied. These are the words of the moderate Scottish doctor:—"Jesus Christ is the Cre-

ator of the world. * * * The Jehovah who appeared to the patriarchs was worshipped in the temple, and by the prophets announced as the Author of a new dispensation. * * * We find the Scriptures ascribing to Jesus an existence without beginning, without change, without limitation; and connected, in the whole extent of space which it fills, with the exercise of the most perfect intelligence. These are the essential attributes of Deity. Measures of power may be communicated; degrees of wisdom and goodness may be imparted to created spirits; but our conceptions of God are confounded, and we lose sight of every circumstance by which he is characterized, if such a manner of existence as we have now described, be common to him and any creature."*

In another place the Moderate theologian says,—"It is by the union of two natures in one person that Christ is qualified to be the Saviour of the world. * * * Had Jesus been only man, or had he been one of the spirits that surround the throne of God, he could not have accomplished the work which he undertook; for the whole obedience of every creature being due to the Creator, no part of that obedience can be placed to the account of other creatures, so as to supply the defects of their service, or to rescue them from the punishment which they deserve. The Scriptures, therefore, reveal that he who appeared upon earth as man is also God, and, as God, was mighty to save; and by this revelation, they teach us that the merit of our Lord's obedience and the efficacy of his interposition, depend upon the hypostatical union. * * * The hypostatical union," adds the doctor of St. Andrews, "is the corner-stone of our religion."†

This was what was taught in Scotland in the age of Voltaire and Rousseau; and is now still taught in the party opposed to the Evangelicals, for the theology of Dr. Hill is the text-book of the lectures of their professors.

* Lectures on Divinity, by the late George Hill, D. D., vol. ii. pp. iv. 201.

† Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 249. 251.

I will not exhibit the St. Andrews' doctor, victoriously establishing these great truths,—that there is one God in three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; that there exists original and hereditary sin, in consequence of which the whole human race is corrupt and guilty before God; that the sufferings of Christ are the punishment of sin, and the effects ascribed to them are reconciliation and redemption; that in order for this immense grace to be applied to a sinner, there must be within him, by the works of the Holy Spirit, regeneration, conversion, and faith; from which proceeds justification; and from justification repentance, sanctification and good works. But you will, perhaps, wonder more if I tell you of the lectures of Dr. Hill, upon the doctrines of Arminius and Calvin compared. You are aware that Arminius was a Dutch theologian in the beginning of the seventeenth century, and that it was by the introduction of his lax opinions that the reformed churches of Geneva and France began to depart from the doctrines of the Reformation. This part of Dr. Hill's work had always struck me: I said so to his son, the Moderator. He replied with an amiable smile, that it was, in fact, the part on which his father had taken most pains, and with which he was particularly pleased.

I must be excused if this is tedious. Having been called upon as a theologian to speak of Scotland, how can I do so without speaking of theology? Were I asked to speak of railways, or things of that kind, I should answer that I am no engineer. If you will have me talk of Scotland, I must, whether you like it or not, occupy a few minutes with theology, otherwise you will have nothing of Scotland,—of its characteristics. To speak of Scotland without theology, is to say nothing about it. "The Arminian system," says the Doctor of St. Andrews, "while in words it ascribes all to the grace of God, does, in effect, resolve our salvation into something independent of that grace."*

* Lectures on Divinity, by the late George Hill, D. D., vol. iii. p. 80.

"For, while the grace of God and the will of man are conceived (in the Arminian system) to be partial causes, concurring in the production of the same effect (as it may, perhaps, be said, that a horse, and the coachman who whips it, are two partial causes of the progress of the car), the grace of God is only a remote cause of salvation—a cause operating indifferently upon all; sufficiently, indeed, but often ineffectual. The proximate, specific cause of salvation, by which the effects of the universal cause are discriminated, is (according to the Arminians, whom we assert to be wrong,) to be found in the qualities of the subject which receives the grace of God, since upon these qualities it depends whether this grace shall overcome or shall be counteracted."*

"For, if the grace which is given indifferently to two persons, John and Judas, which is sufficient for both, and might have been resisted by both, is not resisted by John, and in consequence of that non-resistance conducts him to salvation, but is resisted by Judas, and in consequence of that resistance proves ineffectual; '* * * Thou didst give to my neighbor,' may the former say, 'as to me: but my will has improved what thou gavest, while the will of my neighbor has resisted all thine operations.' This language, which the Arminians must suppose every one that is saved entitled to hold to the Almighty, by implying that man has something independent of the grace of God, whereof he may boast, and whereby he may distinguish himself from other men in the sight of God, not only contradicts the doctrine of original sin, and those lessons of humility which the Gospel uniformly teaches (and that declaration of Scripture, 'What hast thou, oh man, which thou hast not received?'), but seems to involve the Arminians themselves in contradiction. For * * * while in words they ascribe all good works to the grace of God, they suspend the beginning, the progress, and the continuance of these good works upon the will of man." These are the words of the professor of St. Andrews.†

* Lect. on Divinity, vol. iii. p. 89. † Ibid. p. 90, 91.

I need not say that the Scottish theologians do not think that man is to be saved without free will,—his own free will; they only say that the will which necessarily enters into the work of salvation, is a will purified, regenerated by the Holy Spirit, in virtue of the election of God.

But I will go no further into theology; let this sample suffice: and I repeat, that I have not taken it from the writings of evangelical divines, because it might perhaps have been said to me, "These are the Scottish enthusiasts; they are to be found everywhere." No, I have chosen my specimens from among the Moderates, as they are called in Scotland, and they have no other name there. I have taken my sample from among the national party, from a church united to the state.

I do not hesitate to affirm that so pure a doctrine, even among those who are not called Evangelicals, redounds to the honor of Scotland at large, without any party distinction. I am no party man, I do not wish to be so, and wherever I find any thing praiseworthy, I give it praise. I have to add, (and after what I have just said of its doctrine you will not be surprised at this,) that the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, united to the state, desiring last year (1845) "to draw closer the bonds of Christian union between herself and all the churches which maintain the truth as it is in Jesus"—these are its own expressions,—and having proposed to write to the Church of Geneva, has addressed the Evangelical Society of Geneva which meets in this place. This society has received three letters from the Convener of the Committee of Correspondence of the established Church of Scotland with foreign churches. But for some time there have been no other communications.

III.

THE TWO EXTREMITIES OF THE SCALE.

If they are so well agreed upon these important points, in what, then, do the Evangelical and the Moderate parties differ in Scotland? It is in the doctrine of the church with regard to its relations with the state.

The Free Church has remained steadfast to the characteristic principles of Scotland. The Moderate party, the present Established Church, appears to me to have, unthinkingly, deviated towards the principles established in England.

A comparison between the Church of Scotland and that of England, may make the essence of the former more easily understood. It is acknowledged in Scotland that there may be a union between the church and the state. I will not just now examine whether this is right or wrong; but I merely observe that, to realize this union, they think it requisite not to mingle or confound, but, on the contrary, to distinguish and separate with the greatest possible exactness, the temporal and the spiritual interests; in order, on the one hand, to render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and, on the other, to render to God the things that are God's.

In England, the contrary has been done: there was, originally at least, more than union between the church and the state,—there was unity of both; and instead of distinguishing and separating the spiritual from the temporal interests, as in Scotland, they took the opposite way, and have intimately united, and completely interwoven them.

Of all the churches of the Reformation, the Church of Scotland is the one in which the principle of the independence of the church, as to the state, has been carried to the greatest extreme; while the church of England, on the contrary, is the one in which the principle of the royal prerogative, or supremacy, has been the most strictly realized. Thus the two churches, which are geographically next to each

other, are placed, as to ecclesiastical principles, at the two extremities of the scale.

These very different modes of realizing the union of the two bodies, originate in the manner in which the Reformation was brought about in the two nations.

In Scotland, the Reformation proceeded from the conversion of souls among the people; it made its way from the inward to the outward, from low to high. In England, there was a similar Reformation; but there was also another, and it was this latter which bestowed her peculiar constitution on the Anglican Church. In that country the movement which organized the church proceeded from the king and a few bishops; it operated from the outward to the inward, from high to low. It was, therefore, natural to expect that the Christian people should bear rule in the Church of Scotland, and the Christian state, on the other hand, govern in the Church of England.

This explains why there is now, in a considerable number of the ministers and members of the Church of England, a decided movement towards Rome. By the principles above stated, the Church of England comes near to that of Rome, though in other respects they are as far apart as heaven from earth. In both, the Christian people have but few rights, and must remain more or less passive; while, on the contrary, the Church of Scotland, in which is realized to the greatest extent what we have called the Genevan element,—that church in which in great measure are to be found the rights and the vitality of the Christian people, forms of all the Protestant churches the most decided contrast to the Papacy.

There is great injustice in judging of Scotland, as is frequently done in England, from the English point of view. They misunderstand the very essence of the Scottish Church, who assimilate it in principle with the Church of England, and then conclude that the Scotch are a turbulent people, and are acting very improperly. But justice requires us,

when we judge of a church, to apply to it its own rules, and not those rules with which it is unacquainted. Yet by following out the contrary plan, a wrong has been done in England, not only by the government, but by many ministers and members of the church. Let us hope they will soon view it aright.

It may be asked, Should Scotland draw towards the principles of England, or should England draw towards those of Scotland? This is a question of importance. The English government, under Sir Robert Peel, decided for the former alternative. If I am to express my own opinion candidly and fearlessly, I will say, that I incline towards the latter.

Two tendencies, or rather two facts, of the present day, which are now developing themselves in England in a decided and alarming manner, seem to call upon that country to draw closer towards the principles of Scotland.

The first of these, is the manner in which an important part of the Church of England is from day to day drawing nearer Rome. If they desire to oppose Rome, it cannot be done by resembling her, or by placing dependence upon the hierarchy, or upon the assistance of the state, as Rome herself does; but, on the contrary, by a contrast with Rome, by seeking support in the faith and activity of a Christian people.

The second of these facts, is the ever increasing tendency of the English government to detach itself from Protestant interests, and to sacrifice them to political expediency. When once the government withdraws its patronage from the Christian people, ought not these people to arise, bestir themselves in their own affairs, and undertake to defend themselves?

I therefore think that England, in the serious circumstances in which she is now placed, instead of striving against Scotland, and always opposing her views, would do much better to study impartially the principles there professed, and to apply them in the degree in which they are applicable to herself; for that the Church of England ought

to preserve her own distinctive character, is what we do not mean to contest.

In England, on the contrary, it will be thought that Scotland ought to approach nearer to the governmental system; or, at least, that Scotland and England ought to persist, each in its own way, in the system peculiar to itself. In many respects, no doubt, they should; but I do not think they ought to do so in all. I am aware it will be said, that the opinion I express is not to be wondered at: that I am a Presbyterian, that I am a Genevese. So I am. Yet it is not in the spirit of narrow bigotry that I speak. I love England, and I am not prejudiced against episcopacy. But I have studied the times and the systems, and I candidly state the result of my examination. Every one may accept or reject it as he thinks proper. I do not presumptuously affirm it, but appeal with modesty to the judgment of the wise in the church and in the nation.

IV.

CHURCH AND GOVERNMENT.

I now come to the doctrine of Scotland upon the Headship of the church, and upon the the church itself. This doctrine appears to me to have all the exactness of a theorem. These are the propositions by which they proceed; they are the foundation of the whole edifice:

Our Lord Jesus Christ is the King of the church both visible and invisible. "He is the head of the body, the church." (Col. i. 18.)

"The Lord shall give unto him the throne of his father David: and he shall reign over the house of Jacob forever; and of his kingdom there shall be no end." (Luke i. 32, 33.)

Our Lord Jesus Christ is the King of the particular churches, comprehended in the visible church, as may be

seen in the letters which he writes to each of the seven churches of Asia. (Rev. ii. 2.)

Our Lord Jesus Christ is the Head of every member or minister of the church. "The head of every man is Christ." (1 Cor. xi. 3.)

Our Lord Jesus Christ is the Head of every Christian assembly: "For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." (Matthew xviii. 20.)

Christ alone, as King, creates the church and churches, and alone he builds them up. When he communicates the Gospel and his grace to a town, a province, or a country, the instantaneous effect is, that within this town, this province or this country, there is a church of Christ: this is what happened at Jerusalem, at Ephesus, at Rome, and at Geneva. Churches are not, cannot be, created and established by civil decrees or by acts of parliament, by republican legislatures, or by concordats.

Christ, as King, bestows on the church, the knowledge and the rules which she needs, and in the Bible alone are these to be found.

The laws of Christ, the King of the church, regulate doctrine, life, worship, discipline, government; and these laws are sufficient: so that no case can occur in which the church is unable to decide conformably to the will of her King, or at least to the general principles laid down in the Bible.

Christ, the King of the church, having instituted a ministry, the government of the church belongs exclusively to the elders and ministers whom He has set over her.

The authority of these rulers of the church is not derived either from Episcopal or Presbyterian succession, or by transmission from their predecessors, or by the appointment by the state; but immediately and exclusively from Christ the King.

A minister must, it is true, receive the laying on of hands from those set apart for that purpose, (this the Word of

God commands); but the minister does not derive his authority from that company of elders. When a judge or an officer is appointed by the king, it is necessary that the appointment or the commission which he has thus received from the prince, should be recognized and proclaimed in the court of justice, or in the staff to which he is to belong; yet it is neither from this staff, nor from this court, that his authority is derived. In the same manner, the commission of the incorruptible Prince, the appointment and the calling of the King of kings, is the only source of the authority of the holy ministry.

Christ being thus the King, the only King of the church, and having provided every thing necessary for her, it results therefrom that the church ought to be "subject to Christ," (Ephes. v. 24.;) and to Christ alone.

As there is a spiritual government established by the Lord to rule over the church, so there is also a temporal government established by the Lord to rule over the social and political interests of nations. Each of these governments should remain within its own sphere.

The political government can have no claim to direct in any way the affairs of the church; in this lies the essence of the question.

It cannot, for it is to the spiritual government alone that Christ has delivered the power of the keys. (Matt. xvi. 19. John, xx. 23.)

It cannot, for it is on the spiritual government alone that Christ has laid all the responsibility of the government of the church. (Acts, xx. 17--28. 1 Peter, v. 1—4. Rev. ii. 14—20.)

It cannot, for it is to the spiritual government alone that Christ has given all the directions necessary for the administration of the church. (Matt. xvi. 15—18. Titus. i. 5—9., iii. 10. 1. Tim. iii.)

It cannot, for it is to the spiritual government alone that

Christ has promised all the grace requisite to perform it. (Matt. xxviii. 20. 2 Cor. xi. 28. Ephes. iv. 7. 11, 12.)

It cannot, for it is to the spiritual government alone that Christ requires the members of the church to be subject as to the affairs of the church. (1 Thes. v. 12. Heb. xiii. 7. 17.)

It cannot, for Christ has nowhere enjoined to the members of the church obedience to the civil magistrate, except as to civil matters. (Rom. xiii. 1—7. Luke, xii. 13, 14.)

It cannot, for Christ has prescribed the qualifications required in the spiritual rulers of the church; in order to govern the church; but has nowhere prescribed the same to the civil magistrates. (1 Tim. iii. 4—6. Tit. i. 5—11.)

It cannot, for Christ has declared that the power with which the civil magistrate is armed, is the power of the sword (Rom. xiii. 14.); and this is a species of power which cannot, without persecution, be used in the government of the church.

Lastly, it cannot, because Christ by his addressing Pilate in these memorable words, "My kingdom is not of this world" (John, xviii. 36.), has drawn the line of demarcation between the church and the state in such a way that it is well established, that the government of the one cannot intrude into the limits of the other.

It results from all this, that the civil magistrate has no right whatsoever to rule in the church; that not only he has no right to command in it that which is evil, but he has not even the right to command in it that which is good.

This is the system of the Church of Scotland,—a system wherein each of its propositions is supported by the declarations of the Word of God.

V.

IMPORTANCE OF THE SYSTEM.

This system was a necessity. The Papacy of Rome being essentially a system of ecclesiastical government, and that a very able and powerful one, displaying all the wisdom of darkness; a system which by its force, its consistency, its coherence, has achieved, and is even now achieving great things; it was necessary for the Reformation to establish, in opposition to the government of Antichrist, the government of Christ himself. If the Reformation is not a mere denial of Popery; if, on the contrary, it has everywhere established, in opposition to the errors of Rome, positive principles and truths—salvation by grace, in opposition to salvation by works—regeneration by the Holy Spirit, in opposition to the *opus operatum* of the sacraments, and so on; in like manner, it was necessary that it should do the same with regard to the organization of the church, and her relations with the state. It is the glory of the Church of Scotland, that she has been intrusted by God with this work, and admirably has she accomplished it. To this her whole history bears witness. It is in Scotland we find all that distinguishes in the most striking manner the Evangelical from the Papal church.

We therefore protest against the insinuations and the accusations to which Scotland has been more than once subjected, from the wise men of this world, even on the Continent. No; the great principles maintained by this church are not those of a narrow Puritanism, a political agitation, a desire of subjecting the state to the church, or the intrigues of an ambitious clergy. Scotland has received a vocation from God, and this vocation she is fulfilling. The principles she maintains rest upon the most venerable statutes, the most ancient laws of this nation; nay, upon the Word of

God itself. These principles are the right, the strength, the glory of Scotland. They pervade her whole history, the struggles of her fathers, the constitutions of her people, the scaffolds of her martyrs, her revolutions, her restorations, and all the great events in which her annals abound. They run through them like a reviving stream, whose waters carry in all directions fertility and life. "This controversy," says Gillespie, "rises to the heavens, and its summit is above the clouds."

Now, the English government having determined to interfere in the spiritual matters of the church, as we shall see, by means of the courts of law and the parliament; the Evangelical party of the Church of Scotland, by virtue of the very principles we have just laid down, has severed the bonds which unite the church to the state, and declared her independence.

It is now necessary to specify, in a more precise manner, the points which have brought about the rupture. In fact, it is not, properly speaking, the abstract doctrine of the kingship of Christ, but upon the application of that doctrine, that the difference turns. These are the two points which have been debated, and resolved in opposite ways.

The first point was that of non-intrusion. You are aware that by intrusion is understood the act of introducing a presentee by force or by stratagem, against right and form, into any cure of the church. By non-intrusion the Free Church of Scotland understands the right of a church, or of a parish, to refuse the minister presented to it, so that he may not be imposed upon them against their consent, even when the higher ecclesiastical authorities do not concur in their objections. This is an important point in the ecclesiastical constitution of Scotland; yet it is not the one of which the Free Church has been the most tenacious. They might even have come to some compromise on this head; but the next principle is, in their eyes, of the utmost importance, and it is impossible on that subject to yield in the slightest degree.

This latter principle is, that of Spiritual Independence; that is to say, independence in all the spiritual concerns of the church, subject to Christ and his Word alone; and most particularly, the right which the church alone has of inducting and depriving her own ministers, without any civil court, any political authority, even the highest, having any claim to command in these respects. Herein lies the knot of the matter.

The real and exclusive kingship of Jesus Christ, by virtue of which the church is independent of any earthly king or magistrate, is the theorem, the Palladium, as it were, of the Church of Scotland.

The non-intrusion of ministers, and the spiritual independence of the church, are the two corollaries of that theorem, for the sake of which the Scottish Church has in our own day fought so memorable a battle.

The first of these principles, non-intrusion of ministers, as the Free Church understands it, is not, perhaps, a strict consequence of the sole kingship of Christ. This non-intrusion is founded, doubtless, upon the rights of the Church of Scotland, both in the letter and the spirit; but if the refusal of a parish to receive any minister is to be submitted, not to a civil court, but to an ecclesiastical assembly, to a presbytery, for instance, or to a synod, the kingship of Christ, as the Church of Scotland understands it, is in no way affected. Therefore, if it were only for the sake of non-intrusion that the separation took place, we might understand how opinions might be divided. It has been said in Switzerland, that the Scottish disruption was effected, not for the sake of the headship of Christ, but for that of the people. This shows a complete ignorance of facts.

The essential cause of the disruption was the duty of maintaining the spiritual independence of the church, of preventing the civil power from deciding in religious matters; and that duty is one which most incontrovertibly flows from the constitution of that church, and from the tenet of

the kingship of Christ, which she has been commissioned from God to declare openly in the church. The Church of Scotland cannot yield this point without proving unfaithful to her calling, without sacrificing the very principle of her existence.

VI.

A COMPARISON.

Having been called upon to make you acquainted with the system of the Church of Scotland, it will be advantageous to compare it with the system well known among ourselves,—that of the separation of church and state.

These two systems have one great point of resemblance; that is, they both aim at the independence of the church. Yet if we examine the matter more closely, we shall find between them some remarkable differences which it is worth while to point out.

The Scottish system is complete. It lays down principles, and deduces consequences; it is, in fact, an entire ecclesiastical system. The theory of the separation of church and state (which is a different thing from Voluntaryism), cannot be called a system; it is defective as to the first principles of church government, and, in fact, does not pretend to define them. It is a certain number of considerations, some metaphysical, some historical, or of some other nature besides, which may be powerful, but which do not form a perfect whole like the Scottish system.

The latter system is essentially positive, while that of the separation of church and state stands forth as being essentially negative, and consequently less powerful; I will even add, less pious and less Christian. The positive question is of more importance than the negative; although, in our opinion at least, one includes the other.

The first thing is, that the church should attach itself to

Jesus Christ, and fully recognize his sovereign kingship. This is the positive. The next thing would be, that the church should maintain her own independence with respect to earthly governments, and detach herself from them in all spiritual concerns. But what would be gained if the church were detached from the state, without the kingship of Jesus Christ being recognized in the church? What would happen to a church which has neither a head upon earth, nor a head in heaven? Doubtless,—and we may thank God for this,—a great number of those who maintain the principles of separation are Christians, and it is this which counteracts the evils. But there are also some, and these too very eminent men, especially in England, who are Unitarians and Deists; and in that case, what is to become of a church with the mere idea of separation? She would end by making herself both head and God!

The Church of Scotland is not, above all things, separatist: she is unionist in the most spiritual and sublime sense. Her great aim is, for the church to unite herself to her divine Head, Jesus Christ. She demands that this King should reign, not only in the hearts of humble believers, or of ministers, but also in the hearts of kings, and of all who are placed in power. She makes no separation between the kingdom of Jesus Christ and the rulers of the nations.

And such is also my own feeling. God forbid that I should stand before any man whatsoever, whether he speaks in our own Diets, or sits on the throne of St. James, or on that of the Tuileries, without proclaiming, "Worship the Son and submit to his Word!" But I do not stop there, as I shall proceed to show.

I have to make a third observation. In the ordinary system of separation between church and state, it is exclusively, in my opinion, a question of discipline, or of ecclesiastical constitution founded on reasoning, with which we have to deal. But, in the system of the Church of Scotland, we are concerned with a doctrinal question based upon the

Word of God; not with a merely secondary doctrine, but a leading dogma, acknowledged as such by all. In effect, the Mediator, Jesus Christ, fills three offices in the church,—he is Prophet, Priest, and King; this we have all learnt in our Catechism, and, what is still better, in our Bible. Christianity is comprised in these three points; and whenever we deprive Christ in any manner of one of these offices, we reject the Lord of Glory, or tread him under foot, and Christianity is shorn of its proportions, or, in other words, destroyed. Now these offices of the Mediator have always been attacked in diverse ways.

Whenever, instead of the teaching of his Word and of his Holy Spirit, we substitute that of human reason, of the Fathers of the Church, or of the Popes, Christ is denied as a Prophet. Whenever, for the sacrifice of his body and blood, by which he has once redeemed his people, we substitute certain penances, the mass, or the doctrine of salvation by works or by good intentions, Christ is denied as a Priest.

Think you, then, that it is not possible to acknowledge or deny Christ as a King?

It is this denial of Christ as a King which is renounced by the Church of Scotland. With her, Christ is the King of the church, as well as her Prophet or her Priest; this is all. But, it is to be observed, he is not the King merely of an invisible impalpable church, which is nowhere to be found. When Christ founded the church, he did so indeed in the first instance as spiritual and invisible; but immediately afterwards as visible and external, for he introduced the sacraments. Now, are not the sacraments visible? He established the ministry, and are not the ministers visible? The visible cannot be separated from the invisible church; it is one and the same church, and it is of the church in both these relations that Christ is the King.

For our own part, we worship the kingship of Christ as we worship his prophetical and his priestly character. We believe that this sacred, too much forgotten kingship, ought to

be reinstated in the church; and we think that Scotland has received from God a call to this effect.

But in so doing, there is an excess which we must point out. To make all the institutions of the visible church flow directly from the kingship of Christ; to believe that Presbyterianism, with all its forms, is alone of divine institution, is, in my opinion, to fall into a dangerous error. Revelation was given to us for the purpose of proclaiming the great truths of salvation, and of imparting a new life. To convert Revelation into an ecclesiastical rule is to lower it considerably. It is to forget the essential nature of Christianity, and make of it a mere system more or less similar to Judaism, which consisted in ordinances.* (Ephes. ii. 15.) No; Christ "hath broken down the middle wall of partition:" let us beware of rebuilding it. I prefer the Presbyterian government to all others, I even think it most comformable to the Bible; but I will never consent to condemn the Episcopalians as Episcopalians, nor the Congregationalists as Congregationalists. Let us entirely abandon bigotry, of what nature and species soever. The apostle St. John does not say, "If any bring not this *church government*, receive him not;" but he says, "If any bring not this *doctrine*." Most Scotchmen think as I do: of this I am assured. The farther Scotland removes a sectarian spirit from her, the more also will she become fair, strong, useful, and pleasing, in the sight of God and of the people of God. Let us be enthusiastic in the cause of Jesus Christ, he is worth it all; but not for the sake of our own sect and our own constitution.

I have to make a fourth remark. The Scottish system is more powerful; it draws on the people of God with greater force. In fact, considerations more or less metaphysical are not within the reach of every body, and do not convince them. Take one of the finest productions of the human mind of late years, the work upon "The Manifestation of Religious Convictions;"† and, even among those who have understood it,

* Νομον των εντολων.

† By the late Dr. Vinot.

there are a great many unconvinced by it. But put the question as it is put in Scotland :—"Will you in things spiritual give all obedience to Jesus Christ your King; or will you give a part of it to the President of the Council of State, or to the Right Honorable the First Lord of the Treasury?" This is the question, and there is no Christian conscience that can hesitate. It has been seen that during two centuries this simple question induced the meanest among the people of God in Scotland to ascend the scaffold. A man will lay down his own life for the sake of Christ, but he will not lay it down so easily for a mere argument. This system has very lately bestowed freedom upon two churches,—those of Scotland and of Vaud. I know of no similar effect produced by the separationist system.

I remember the powerful sensation which, at a Christian Union meeting at Edinburgh, Dr. Candlish produced by a speech which I have unfortunately been unable to find very correctly reported. "Gentlemen," said he, "in a nation there are many conflicting opinions, many different parties, and these factions are ranged against each other in the parliament and among the people; but if the King—if his crown be attacked by a foreign power, all divisions cease, all factions are silent, all hands are stretched out to preserve the crown and maintain its independence. Thus," added the orator, "thus it is with the church. There are many different opinions, sects, and parties; but if a foreign power touches the honor of our Divine King,—all divisions cease, all sects unite, all hearts join in one, and all hands are raised together to support His crown."

I can only compare the energy of the speaker to the tumult of applause with which these words were received.

Let us now observe a last difference in the degree of separation which the two theories assert between church and state. If the state is opposed to the church, then, according to both systems, the separation should be complete; but if the rulers of the state are animated by Christian feelings,

and remain within their own sphere, in that case the separation will still exist as to all things spiritual, though it will be wanting in the Scottish system, in an external and temporal point of view. Is the Scottish system right? This brings me back to Scotland and her history.

VII.

A REQUISITE OF UNION.

THERE is no history in which the incessant struggle between the church and the state is so strongly marked as in that of Scotland. The powerful vitality of the church is the cause of this. A church might exist, as for instance, in the canton of Vaud, where the church lay for three centuries bound by the state without a struggle, at least without any considerable one, for the very simple reason that there was but little life within her. A living body may well hold down a corpse and find no resistance; but when once the corpse is restored to life, the struggle will begin anew.

The state everywhere would be the master; it would be so in the different phases of the life of nations, whether in matters of industry, of instruction, or of war; but it would be so especially in matters of religion, because religion has great influence over the people. Now, this is precisely the sphere which is to be withheld from the grasp of the state. "The power of the state ends where that of conscience begins."

The history of Scotland is that of the struggle between the state and the church. Scarcely does the church come into existence, when the state begins to make war upon her. Combats to the death, or else deep slumber,—behold, in two words, the history of the Scottish Church. One of these phases succeeds the other, and the slumber is no sooner broken than the combat is renewed.

It is to this duel, continued for three centuries, that we

wish to recall your attention. But you must observe, that while the church stands alone in the conflict—alone with her Divine Head—the state in Scotland has always an auxiliary.

That auxiliary changes at different periods of the struggle.

In the sixteenth century the auxiliary of the state against the Church of Scotland was Popery.

In the seventeenth century it was Prelacy (not evangelical episcopacy, but the half-popish prelacy of Laud).

In the eighteenth century, and at the beginning of the nineteenth, it was Patronage; that is to say, the right of the landlords, of the crown, or of the councils, to appoint the ministers of the churches.

Hence proceeded :—

During the sixteenth century, a struggle hateful and perfidious;

During the seventeenth century, a struggle violent and cruel;

During the eighteenth century, a struggle enervating and deadening.

And observe, that the state, vanquished each time by the church in her unjust aggressions, and obliged to sacrifice her auxiliary, has always taken another less odious in its stead.

The prelacy of the seventeenth century is better than the popery of the sixteenth; and the patronage of the eighteenth century is better than the prelacy of the seventeenth.

It may be thought that the conflict between the state and the church is ended in Scotland. The church has found the true way of enjoying at once liberty and peace. She has restored to the state the property and the privileges she had received from it, and has wrapped herself in the mantle of poverty.

Were this struggle to be renewed, the state would apply to another auxiliary—an auxiliary better than patronage; that is, the establishment of moderatism.

The only chance for the renewal of the conflict in Scot-

land would be, that the Established Church should gather up the remains of life and independence. It is probable, that with the Free Church before them, the State and the Establishment will long remain agreed. But if there should be in the Establishment, as I trust there will, a return to the first principles of the Church of Scotland, the struggle would, doubtless, terminate in a new disruption, which might, perhaps, unite into one church all the congregations of North Britain.

I intend to take a rapid survey of the three great periods of the conflict between the church and the state in Scotland:—

1. The period of Anti-popery, from the commencement of the church till the year 1600.

2. The period of Anti-prelacy, from 1600 to the beginning of the eighteenth century.

3. The period of Anti-patronage, from the beginning of the eighteenth century to 1843.

But for the present, with these facts before our eyes, I return to the question I first stated.

Is not the Church of Scotland mistaken in thinking that there may be a certain combination between the church and the state?

I answer, that, in the abstract, and in principle, she is not. The obedience which the Christian owes to Jesus Christ, as the only King of the church, is opposed to the Christian's recognizing any jurisdiction of the state in spiritual matters; but it does not prevent the state from uniting with the church in certain external and temporal relations. Conscience forbids our rendering to the state what belongs only to the Lord, but it forbids no more. The American Church, though quite independent of the state, still maintains some relations with it. The state, for instance, proclaims a fast-day, and the church observes it.

But with regard to expediency and to possibility, that is another matter. I do not think that such relations can be-

come intimate or influential without danger. A salary, for instance, paid by the state to the church, besides having other inconveniences, gives the state a hold upon the church, and compromises the latter.

A church jealous of maintaining the prerogative of the Lord, and which would withstand the state as soon as it made the least encroachment upon her, must always be in opposition, and in conflict with the state. Of this the history of the Church of Scotland is a proof.

Should it, then, be the aim of these two great associations, the state and the church, to hate and wage incessant war upon each other? Are these two powers, which both proceed from God, which are both placed by him above the nations, to diffuse inestimable benefits among them, set up merely as two champions, two gladiators, to fence incessantly together, and aim at each other's lives?

I am too desirous of a real and cordial union between the civil and the religious body, not to wish those ties to be severed, those complications unravelled, which, hitherto, have never ceased to make them rivals and enemies. In my opinion, the greatest argument against such union is its impossibility,—its incompatibility with the peace, the liberty, the vitality, and the prosperity both of the state and of the church.

I ask not, therefore, the suppression of a *union*, but of a *discord*. I am tenacious of establishing this fact.

It is no question now, of a discord which existed in past ages, in the times of Henry of Germany, of Gregory VII., of Philip Augustus, of Boniface VIII., of Frederick Barbarossa, of Gregory IX., or of Innocent III. No; our business is with a deplorable discord and struggle which exists in our own day, which is vigorously recommencing in France (see the late "*pastoral letters*," for example), in Germany, in England, and even in our own Switzerland, once deluged in blood by the questions of the convents and the Jesuits, and destined, perhaps, to be so again. I say nothing of the Canton de

Vaud; of the struggle even now sustained there by a few noble witnesses for the kingship of Jesus Christ; of the conflict in which the power of faith is opposed by the power of the bludgeon; of that battle which is going on at our own doors, which is felt even in our own homes, and which speaks with a voice from which some useful lesson might surely be learnt.

Yes; I accuse those governmental systems which would, at any price, keep up these complications, these invasions, these subjections. I accuse them as enemies of a cordial and healthful union between the church and the state. I accuse them of being the instigators of troubles and conflicts between the two bodies. I accuse them as being calculated to perpetuate among the nations the causes of their desolation and their ruin; and it is in the name of this very principle of union which they assert, while they pervert its nature, that I condemn them.

May the Free Church of Scotland maintain that ancient and grand principle, by virtue of which the kindly influence of Christianity is to penetrate not only into individuals, but into families; not only into families, but into the most extensive societies, and most especially into the great body of the nation. May the Church of Scotland maintain, that there is upon earth, neither individual nor society in behalf of which she is now to offer up this prayer, "Thy kingdom come." May she reject with alarm, as we ourselves do, the saying of a celebrated French Roman Catholic politician; "The state is Atheist," (a saying which, I am aware, has been explained, but which nevertheless has been perniciously invented.) May the Church of Scotland never cease to repeat before the whole world, that she will not have a state without God; but let her at the same time acknowledge with thankfulness what God has done for her, and glory in her perfect freedom.

I conclude by observing that, while the Scottish system builds its theories upon a solid scriptural basis, a powerful

principle, which is too much neglected by separatism; the latter develops the Scottish system in a very important application. They are, or at least ought to be, two friendly systems, each the compliment of the other.

Allow me, in conclusion, to make a strange supposition. Should a madman, in order to establish a greater union in our solar system, propose connecting the earth, the moon, and the sun together by some monstrous chain, what, I ask, would be the result; but that such a bond would prevent the free motion of these bodies, would draw our system into unheard of disorder, and plunge us into a fearful cataclysm, into the darkness and desolation of chaos?

Far better is that liberty which God has given them,—a liberty which allows of the free circulation of light, heat, and life! Not only in Scotland, therefore, but throughout the world, may the church become free, and avail herself betimes of the advantages of that freedom to cause all nations, and consequently all states, to rejoice in the light of the Sun of Righteousness!

PART II.

HISTORICAL RECOLLECTIONS.

CHAPTER V.

SCOTTISH STRUGGLES.

Sixteenth Century.—Popery.

1. Travellers. History and its Lessons. Two Men at Geneva. The Vocation of Scotland. Return of Knox. St. Andrews. Triumph of the Reformation. The Church Free.—2. First Book of Discipline. Election of Pastors. Mary Stuart. Opposition. League of Bayonne. The Holyrood Murder.—3. The Church established. Spiritual Independence of the Church. Death of the Good Regent. Tulchan Bishops. Sayings of Erskine of Dun.—4. The Book of Policy. James, Lennox, and Arran. Archbishop Montgomery. Act against Civil Admission. Protest of the Assembly. Melville before the King. James yields.—5. The Black Acts. Protest. Protestant Reaction. Presbyterian Speech of the King. Ecclesiastical Charter of 1592.—6. New Reaction. Deputation to the King. Andrew Melville. Dangers. Strength and Courage.

I.

INTRODUCTION.

Last year I related some passages of my travels in Germany, England, and Scotland. I have been asked whether I have nothing more to tell; whether my store is exhausted. I have found yet a few fragments which I have brought together, and now proceed to lay them before you.

To explain the nature of these fragments, I must confess to a foible of my own.

A number of travellers journey through the same country, and yet each one sees different things. The artist brings home his portfolio full of sketches of rustic cottages, bubling cascades, delightful views of lakes, smiling valleys, and proud mountain tops. The architect does not leave unnoticed one Gothic church, one elegant mansion, or even a single colonnade or capital. The statesman studies the institutions, the senates, the prerogative, the working and the balance of power. The pedagogue visits every school, converses with every schoolmaster, inquires into their methods, and the results they produce; and so on.

As for me, I delight in going back into past ages, and, as I contemplate what I meet with in the places I visit, to seek out what happened there in times gone by. I inquire into the historical reminiscences. I cannot look upon a field of battle without marshalling armies upon it; on an ancient house, without bringing back its inhabitants; on a church, without placing in the pulpit the illustrious man who has preached there, and in the nave, the audience he was wont to animate with his words. I cannot pass through a cemetery without calling up its dead.

In consequence of this, the fragments I shall now lay before you are historical. As I travelled through Scotland, for to this country I confine myself for the present, I re-peopled it with its former inhabitants. Therefore, after having told you of my friends of the present day, I have only to speak of my friends of one, two, and three centuries ago.

The contemporary history of a people is contained in the history of its early times. The present lies everywhere within the past, as the ear within the grain of wheat, and the bird within the egg. Therefore, in thus carrying you with me over the fair country of Scotland, I intend, indeed, like a necromancer, to call up the spirits of the departed; yet I

am performing an actual work, and explaining the obscurities of the present by the lights of the past.

Every one acknowledges the utility of historical lessons; yet we must make a selection from them, since there are some which are suited to one time, though not to another. If there is one feature especially characteristic of our own age, it is the studies of thinking men upon the relations which should exist between those two great societies, the political and the religious. If there is one appeal now specially addressed to the Christian man, amidst all these conflicts, all these falls, and all these transformations of power, it is, doubtless, the call to remain immovably faithful to the Invisible and Immortal King. If the kingdoms and the republics of this world are shaking and falling, so that fearful men are ready to flee lest they should be crushed among their ruins; the Scripture declares that there is one state, one "kingdom that cannot be moved," and in which the exiles must take refuge.* Now, if there is any history fertile in lessons on this important subject, on the steadfastness, the vitality of the church, it is that of Scotland since the Reformation. I have torn from the book of ages, the leaf on which was inscribed those ancient times so pregnant in lessons for our own; and this is, perhaps, the most important of the remembrances I have preserved of my journey. Allow me to exhibit it; to read to you this page so full of struggles and of sufferings, yet of triumph and of faith also.

Nearly three centuries ago, in the old streets of our old city, in the *Rue des Chanoines*, in the *Bourg de Four*, upon this very hill where we are now met, and near these three towers of St. Peter which rise steeple-less beside us, two men might have been seen walking together,—men of serious and venerable demeanor, with deep and piercing glance, —men of conflict and of prayer. One of these was John Calvin, the other John Knox. The latter had been, for two

* This was spoken shortly after the revolution of Geneva, in October, 1846.

years, the pastor of those English and Scotch whom persecution had driven to seek refuge in our hospitable city. He came in 1556, with his wife and her mother, then a widow, and there two sons were born to him. In the conversations they held together, the doctor of Geneva and the doctor of Scotland mutually enlightened each other; examined the Bible to discover the condition of the ancient church; grieved that the ecclesiastical government of the early times had been entirely subverted by the tyranny of the Papacy; re-established the chief heads of that Presbyterian constitution of which, during the sixteenth century, they were the two great representatives; and thus formed, on the shores of our lake, the bonds of that brotherhood which will forever unite Scotland and Geneva.

Knox having learnt, in 1559, the extremity to which his brethren of Scotland were reduced, and having received letters, by express, inviting him to return to his own country, he resolved to repair thither, and devote his life to the cause of the Gospel and of the Reformation. He left Geneva, where he had enjoyed all the calm delights of a Christian life; he left Calvin, whom he had so well understood. He turned from our snow-topped mountains, and from our free and happy city, traversed France, embarked at Dieppe, and being prevented from passing through England, landed at Leith, near Edinburgh, on the 2d of May, 1559.

But it was not only what he had brought from Geneva, that Knox was to realize in Scotland; Knox and Scotland were to perform a task, which was not given (in the same degree at least) to Calvin and Geneva.

The independence of the church which Christ has redeemed with his most precious blood, and which belongs to Him alone, and not to earthly rulers,—is the treasure which was to be intrusted to the regenerated men among the descendants of the Picts and Scots. One circumstance contributed to this special vocation: it was, that nowhere, unless in France, did the government show itself so hostile to

evangelical doctrine and discipline as in Scotland. If Scotland so energetically resisted all state interference, it was not only for the sake of maintaining a few ecclesiastical forms; but because through these forms, the state was endeavoring to reach and to destroy the doctrine and the very life of the church. Scotland is a small country; not so in the struggle she has had to wage during the last three centuries, and it well deserves the interest of all who are convinced that those whom Christ has redeemed should forever be free.

At the time of Knox's arrival in Edinburgh, a number of the evangelical ministers of Scotland had been summoned before the Justiciary Court, and in eight days they were to take their trial for having taught heresy, and excited tumults among the people. Their enemies, preparing a treacherous scheme to get rid of them by death, had met for several days in the monastery of the Grayfriars at Edinburgh; when, on the morning of the 3rd of May, while the priests were maturing their plots, a monk, who had probably been begging about the town, rushed into the monastery, and running breathless, and pale with terror, into the room where the clergy were assembled, exclaimed, "John Knox! John Knox is come! He is here! He slept last night in Edinburgh!" If a thunderbolt had fallen in the midst of them, the priests could not have felt more alarm. They rose hastily, left the hall and the convent; and dispersed, some one way, some another, in the greatest confusion and dismay.

Such was the effect produced by the arrival in Scotland of the refugee from Geneva. He lost no time, and his preaching quickly excited every mind. His friends for his sake feared the effects of his courage. "As for the fear of danger that may come to me," said he to them, "let no man be solicitous; for my life is in the custody of Him whose glory I seek. I desire the hand or weapon of no man to defend me." With such sentiments, Knox determined to remain in St. Andrews, the see of the primate, the Scottish Rome, for

he knew that it was at the centre of an army that the strongest blows should be dealt. On the 16th of June, 1559, he ascended the pulpit, and preached before a numerous auditory; among whom were many of the clergy, and of the armed retainers of the bishop, who had been prepared to take the Reformer's life.

St. Andrews! How many reminiscences were recalled to me by this antique city, with its venerable towers and its numerous steeples! Residing, during my visit to this town, in the house of Sir David Brewster, one of the most eminent scientific men of Scotland, I was so fortunate as to have Dr. Hetherington, the historian of the Scottish Church, for my guide among its antiquities. With what interest did I survey alternately the magnificent ruins of that cathedral, the work of many centuries, which one word from Knox brought down in a single day; then, at no great distance, upon those enormous perpendicular rocks, at whose foot the waves dash incessantly, the picturesque remains of the castle, whose ancient walls now serve as a landmark to the mariner; and then, again, those squares where the martyrs shed their blood at the period of the Reformation, and in one of which now stands a temple of the Free Church, on the very spot where three centuries ago a scaffold was erected. How many spirits could I call up, as I walked among these ruins!

Previous to the powerful preaching of Knox, the bishop of St. Andrews fled in alarm to Edinburgh, to the Queen Regent, to inform her of the triumph of the Reformation. That princess immediately sent an army against the Lords and the People of the Congregation, who then determined upon resistance. These courageous Scots, animated with the love of Christ, successively entered Perth, Stirling, and Edinburgh. The Roman worship was soon abolished over almost the whole of Scotland; and in July, 1560, a treaty between Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland the (Regent being now dead), and Elizabeth, Queen of England, stipulated an amnesty, and an early convocation of the Parliament. This

Parliament, which met in August, accepted the Confession of Faith, drawn up by Knox and his friends, and definitively abolished the Papal jurisdiction, without however bestowing upon the new church the yoke of the state. Thus, the first fact we meet with in this history is this:—the church began in Scotland, by lying under the cross and receiving from the political powers nothing but persecution. In 1560 she became, in a manner, national, yet she remained free; and it was only seven years later that she was erected into a State Church, and became, what is called in Britain, an Establishment.

II.

A CHURCH AND A QUEEN.

Popery being thus abolished in Scotland, the Christian church proceeded to constitute itself, and, on the 20th December, 1560, the first General Assembly was held. It did not meet by the convocation of the Parliament. That important body in the state remained passive in regard to it, and did nothing either for or against it. It was the authority of the church itself, which was set forth alone by this Assembly. This first great synod had no other origin than the conscience of the evangelized people, than the convocation of Christ. This origin of the Church of Scotland is of great importance to enable us to comprehend the freedom which is her characteristic.

Knox and his associates had already, as we have seen, drawn up a Confession of Faith; the Assembly felt the necessity of having an ecclesiastical constitution, and intrusted the work to the same divines. Thus was produced the First Book of Discipline, which may be regarded as the earliest charter of the Church of Scotland; and which, without being at that time ratified by the queen's council, there being as yet no religious establishment, was signed by most of the councillors of the crown, as members of the church.

I do not mean to exhibit the Presbyterian system as settled by this charter. I will content myself with observing what concerns one of the principles which I have pointed out as essential to Scotland,—the liberty of the flocks with respect to the election of pastors.

The First Book of Discipline, in the 2d section of the 4th chapter, says,—

"It appertaineth to the people, and to every several congregation, to elect their minister." In the 4th section: "Altogether this is to be avoided that any man be violently intruded or thrust in upon any congregation; but this liberty with all care must be reserved to every several church to have their votes and suffrages in the election of ministers."

Such are the primary rights of the Church of Scotland, beyond all ambiguity and all dispute. And if within our own times there have been conflicts on this subject, we must seek for their source three centuries back.

In 1565, Queen Mary Stuart, the niece of the Guises, that woman so celebrated for her beauty and her imprudent conduct, wishing to marry Darnley, attempted to draw closer to the General Assembly, which she was desirous of gaining over. But the queen soon showed that nothing was to be expected from her. She declared that she would remain constant to the Romish faith, and yet maintain within the Presbyterian church her claim of patronage; that is to say, the privilege of appointing ministers to certain parishes.

The General Assembly, not daring to resist these pretensions, replied, that the presentation in certain cases belonged to the patrons, but the definitive appointment belonged to the church; because if the church had not the right of accepting or of refusing her ministers, the patrons might present whomsoever they pleased without trial and without examination. From that time many of the nobles opposed the Reformation and the Book of Discipline; for order and freedom have met with adversaries in all times and in all

places. "This system," they exclaimed, "is but a devout imagination, a dream, proceeding no doubt from good intentions, but impossible to realize." History has triumphantly answered these empty words.

This opposition was soon manifested in a General Assembly, held in December, 1561. Several lords disputed the legality, or even the possibility of such convention, without the consent and good pleasure of the queen. But the independence of the church immediately found defenders. Knox, in answer to Maitland of Lethington, the Secretary of State, said, "Take from us the liberty of Assemblies, and you take from us the Gospel!" This is a strong expression; but Knox justified it by adding, "If the liberty of the church must depend upon the queen's allowance or disallowance, we shall want not only Assemblies, but also the preaching of the Gospel."

Thus did Knox protest and assert that the church should be independent of the state, and dispense with its permission, because she would not submit to its denial.

Such was the commencement of Presbyterianism in Scotland. Popery, abolished as a national worship, remained only as the religion of the court, and evangelical Presbyterianism was freely, yet powerfully set up. Rome could not behold this state of things without anger, and every thing was soon prepared for a revolution.

The Council of Trent had lately passed a decree for the extirpation of the Protestant faith; and the Guises, the uncles of Mary Stuart, had invited their niece to join in the League of Bayonne, formed for that purpose. Mary hesitated not to do so. The excellent Earl of Murray, and most of the Protestant lords, had already been exiled. Mary went still farther; she appointed a meeting of Parliament, in which the Romish prelates were to resume their places, and ordered popish altars to be set up in the Cathedral of Edinburgh. The restoration of Popery was about to be accomplished. It was arrested by the hand of God.

At this time happened one of those remarkable events in which the Almighty permits the wicked to destroy each other, and thereby delivers the righteous. It is one of the scenes most vividly recalled to the recollection of strangers who visit Edinburgh; and it is worthy of such notice, as vindicating in an awful manner the providence of God. While I was going through the ancient palace of Holyrood I went into the apartments of Mary Stuart: I entered her chamber, I stood before her bed; I stopped in that famous and somewhat narrow closet, adjoining the queen's bed-chamber, in which was enacted one of the crimes of that age, perpetrated in the midst and in defiance of the sacred light of the Reformation. I cannot avoid giving an account of my impressions as a traveller.

I was at Holyrood. I placed myself three centuries back (9th March, 1566,) and pictured to myself what was then passing in that tragical cabinet. It is evening, the hour of supper; the queen is at table: beside her sits an Italian, her private secretary, Rizzio by name, whom the popish princes of the Continent have chosen as the agent of their plots at Edinburgh, and who for some time has enjoyed the intimacy of the queen so closely as to excite the jealousy of Darnley, the prince on whom she had bestowed her hand. With the queen and Rizzio are also the Countess of Argyle, and one or two other persons. They are eating, drinking, conversing, jesting, laughing; they think of nothing but pleasure. On a sudden, Darnley enters, the papist Darnley, and without saluting any one, darts at Rizzio a look of vengeance. Behind him stands Lord Ruthven, risen from a sick bed, with pale and ghastly features, and in the background appear armed men. Ruthven, in a hollow voice, orders Rizzio to quit a place of which he is unworthy: the Italian, in alarm, seizes the queen by the skirts of her garment, and implores her protection. Darnley forces him away, and at that moment George Douglas, pulling out the king's own dagger, strikes Rizzio with it. In an instant cries and tears succeed

to laughter and to joy. The secretary is dragged away into the outer apartment, and, in spite of the queen's supplications, falls pierced with fifty-six wounds; his blood flows in streams upon the floor. The marks of it are still visible; and for these 279 years, nothing, as the guide asserts, has been able to efface the stains. I believe this fact possible. When the queen heard of his death, "Now," said she, "I will dry my tears, and think of revenge."

Thenceforward, indeed, revenge became her ruling passion, and she forgot the Presbyterians, to persecute her own husband and Rizzio's assassins. She perceived in Bothwell, a profligate noble of her court, an instrument fitted for her purpose, and within a year the king, her husband, was murdered by that miscreant. The queen married for the third time, and married the murderer of her husband. Then did the divine vengeance,—that vengeance which delays, but which surely comes, and of which Elizabeth became the great instrument,—begin to burst upon Mary Stuart. I will proceed no farther into that which concerns her. Rizzio, the envoy of the Guises, fell by the orders of the papist Darnley; Darnley fell by the orders of the papist Mary Stuart; Mary Stuart fell in her turn. "The wicked shall fall by his own wickedness," saith the prophet (Prov. xi. 5.); and "the Lord will destroy all the wicked." (Ps. cxlv. 20.) On the Continent, and especially in France, Mary Stuart has been perpetually lauded, and Knox insulted. It should be known what was the character of that queen, with whom the great reformer had to deal, and whose misdeeds he could sometimes so courageously rebuke. Before the tribunal of the world, it is often enough to be beautiful to expiate great faults, but this is not sufficient before the tribunal of God.

III.

THE TULCHANS.

Mary Stuart had fallen. Immediately there took place throughout Scotland so decided a movement in favor of Presbyterianism, as to proceed, perhaps, beyond desirable limits. The excellent Earl of Murray, a zealous reformer, being recalled from exile, was placed as regent at the head of the government; the parliament met on the 15th of December, 1567; and it was then that the Reformed Church was recognized and established by the state,—a triumph similar to that of Christianity, when under Constantine the religion of the crucified One ascended the throne of the Cæsars. Alas! what worldliness and corruption did the church find on the throne of the emperors! what anguish, what struggles, and what martyrdom did she find around the throne of the Stuarts!

Nevertheless, the church, founded in opposition to a tyrannical hierarchy and a hostile government, had assumed a character of liberty of which she could never be deprived. The Scottish people, ardently devoted to the Reformation, had joyfully embraced the principles of the Presbyterian institutions. Of simple manners, fond of civil liberty, full of affection for the things of God, this generous nation, while withstanding the claims of an ambitious clergy, had asserted their right of effecting for themselves all that they judged to be needful. Ecclesiastical discipline prevented the inconveniences that might have arisen from this participation of the people in the interests of Christianity, since those only who lived a Christian life were permitted to exercise it. Placed at a distance from the Continent, at a distance from Rome, the Scotch, by bestowing the ecclesiastical authority on a body composed of the ministers and elders of the church, believed, and believed rightly, that they were thus adhering to the most ancient Christian traditions, even of Scotland herself.

But now that the state and the church are united (in 1567), will not the church in Scotland, as elsewhere, purchase the favor of the state by concession? By no means. I will quote an instance of this. The seventh chapter of the Act of Parliament, in 1567, asserts in the most positive manner the independence of the church: "It is ordained," it is there said, "that the examination and the admission of ministers shall be *only in the power of the kirk*." This act adds, that "if the person presented by the patron is refused, the patron may appeal to the synod; and that if the latter refuse likewise, the patron may appeal to the General Assembly, *by whom the cause being decided, shall take an end as they discern and declare*."

This fundamental law, therefore, establishes that when the supreme ecclesiastical authority has decided, the cause is concluded, so that no appeal can be made from the General Assembly to any civil authority. The final judgment belongs to the ecclesiastical authority. This law was one of the causes which, in 1843, brought about the founding of the Free Church. They were desirous, after three centuries, of remaining faithful to it.

It is said that the General Assembly cannot reject the presentee, except on the ground of certain faults. We must observe, that there is in the fundamental law no trace of any such restriction. Such distinctions and complicated examinations were then unknown. It was the man—the minister in his whole character,—that the ministers, the elders, and the flocks judged, admitted, or rejected.

Thus, in 1567, the Reformed Church of Scotland, which had long before existed, was recognized, but not created by the state. It was no act of parliament that brought her into existence: it was from a decree of the court of Heaven, from the will of the Head of the church, that she derived her life. She existed with her doctrine, with her discipline, with her constitution, and with her presbyteries, her synods, and her general assemblies, in greater completeness, perhaps,

than any other church, when the state adopted her. Far from bringing her into existence, it had long sought to put her to death.

However, the good regent Murray soon after fell by the hand of an assassin; and immediately the state, notwithstanding her recent alliance, recommenced her struggle with the church. This is already the fourth revolution since the abolition of Popery; and it is a most ridiculous one.

The Romish prelates who had been set aside, had retained two-thirds of their revenues. Two-thirds for doing nothing,—this was treating them very generously! Several of them having now died, it was asked, upon whom these two-thirds should devolve? A custom, then common among the herdsmen of the Highlands, gave the idea, or at least the name, to the practice of which the new regent now availed himself. When the Highland herdsmen wished to have the milk of a cow, from which they had taken her calf, they set before her, if the creature was refractory, a stuffed calf-skin, to which they managed to give some sort of living look, and which they called a Tulchan. The cow thus gave her milk apparently for the Tulchan, in reality for the herdsman.

Morton, the new regent, did the same. Hamilton, the archbishop of St. Andrews, having died, Morton himself took possession of the revenues of his see; but as he, being a layman, could not touch the revenues of a church benefice, he made an arrangement with a clergyman, John Douglas, to whom he gave the title of archbishop, reserving the rents for himself, and this plan he soon undertook to apply to all the bishoprics of Scotland. "The bishop," says the historian Calderwood, "had the title, but my lord got the milk." The prelates thus appointed, were thenceforward called by the name of Tulchan bishops.

In this strange proceeding, it was the claim of the civil power to appoint to an ecclesiastical function which most displeased the church. Scotland was moved: all cried out

against the encroachments of the civil power; all felt that it was stretching forth its hand to trouble the pure and living waters which flow from the Rock. Erskine of Dun, a man of a pacific but firm temper, now addressed these words to the regent, which, clearly marking the distinctions existing between the ecclesiastical and the political power, strongly exhibit the essential character of the Church of Scotland :— "There is," says he to Morton, "a spiritual jurisdiction and power, which God hath given unto his kirk and to them that bear office therein; and there is a temporal jurisdiction and power, given of God to kings and civil magistrates. Both the powers are of God, and most agreeing to the fortifying one of the other, if they be right used. But when the corruption of man enters in, confounding the offices, usurping to himself what he pleases, nothing regarding the good order appointed by God, then confusion follows in all estates. The kirk of God should fortify all lawful power and authority that pertains to the civil magistrate, because it is the ordinance of God. But if he pass the bounds of his office, and enter within the sanctuary of the Lord, meddling with such things as appertain to the ministers of God's kirk, then the servants of God should withstand his unjust enterprise, for so they are commanded by God."

Such, from the sixteenth century, have been the principles of the Church of Scotland. Not in vain have they been proclaimed, either at that time or in our own day. The Church beheld a new deliverance arise.

IV.

THE COURTIERS AND A MINISTER OF GOD.

In 1578, the regent Morton resigned his functions, and James Stuart, (James VI. of Scotland, afterwards James I. of England,) the son of Mary Stuart and Darnley, and then

only twelve years of age, took, or appeared to take, the reins of government into his own hands. This young king's accession to power was signalized by a more complete development of Presbyterianism. The General Assembly gave its sanction to the "Second Book of Discipline," intended to complete the first, and called also "The Book of Policy, which has been regarded as the charter of the Church of Scotland. These are the principles established in this essential document:

"The policy of the kirk is an order or form of spiritual government, which is exercised by the members appointed thereto by the Word of God.

"This power and policy ecclesiastical is different and distinct in its own nature from that power and policy which is called the civil power.

"For this power ecclesiastical flows immediately from God, and the Mediator Jesus Christ, and is spiritual, not having a temporal head on earth, but only Christ, the only Spiritual King and Governor of his kirk."

Such are the general principles of this Scottish charter.

These are the special principles as to the election of pastors:—

It is said in the third chapter, sections 4 and 5:—"Election is the choosing out of a person or persons most able to the office that vaikes (becomes vacant) by the judgment of the eldership, and consent of the congregation. * * * * In the order of election, it is to be eschewed that a person be intruded in any of the offices of the kirk, contrary to the will of the congregation to whom they are appointed, or without the voice of the eldership."

The twelfth chapter says:—"The liberty of the election of persons called to the ecclesiastical functions, and observed without interruption so long as the church was not corrupted by antichrist, we desire to be restored and retained within this realm, so that none be intruded upon any congregation, either by the prince, or any inferior person, without

lawful election, and the assent of the people over whom the person is placed."

The Church of Scotland went even farther than this, and finding herself unable to declare the abolition of patronage, expressed, at least, the wish of doing so:—

"We desire all them that truly fear God, earnestly to consider that for sa meikle (forasmuch) as the names of patronages and benefices, together with the effect thereof, have flowed from the pope, and corruption of the canon law only, in so far as thereby any person was intruded or placed over kirks having *curam animarum*; and for sa meikle as that manner of proceeding has no ground in the Word of God, but is contrary to the same, and to the said liberty of election, they ought not now to have place in this light of reformation."

The Book of Policy having been sanctioned by the General Assembly, was presented to the king to receive his confirmation. This prince, or rather his court, demanded an amendment, says Calderwood: he desired, that in the article against the intrusion of a minister, these words—"contrary to the will of the congregation,"—should be erased, and the following substituted—"if the people have a lawful cause against his life or manners." The church rejected this amendment. She believed, doubtless, that there would always be persons ready to assert that the objection was not valid, and that thus the liberties of the church would be reduced to nothing. The amendment desired, though not obtained, by James, very nearly resembles, in our opinion, that which was recently passed in Lord Aberdeen's bill. However this may be, the evangelical party in the Church of Scotland has always regarded this amendment as a sort of back door, through which might be taken away what is apparently given in by the front one. The Book of Policy, up to the present day, must be signed by all ministers. The son of Mary Stuart did not positively accept it; but the act of 1592, by which the state recognized the church "as it

then existed," thereby recognized the ordinances by which the church was constituted. Were Henry V., the grandson of Charles X., to declare that he acknowledged France "as she now exists," would he not mean that he acknowledged the charter by which she is governed? Nay, more; this very act of 1592 quotes several passages of the "Second Book of Discipline." This constitutional book of the Church of Scotland, drawn up in the sixteenth century (in 1578), was one of the causes which brought about the great disruption in the nineteenth. There is, perhaps, no church which has preserved its homogeneity so completely as the Church of Scotland.

The enemies of the church were not long in recognizing each other. The young king had escaped from the guardianship of the aged Morton, only to fall under the influence of young nobles, still more dangerous than he. Surrounded, like Rehoboam, with favorites, who had been brought up with him, James was ready to say to his people, "My mother hath chastised you with whips, I will chastise you with scorpions." Great tribulation was preparing for the Church of Scotland. Esme Stuart, whom the king had created Duke of Lennox, and James Stuart, whom he made Earl of Arran, thenceforward governed that weak prince, and led him into evil by their advice, their example, their compliance, and their flattery. Lennox was a papist, when he arrived in Scotland from France; and, although he afterwards took the name of Protestant, no one trusted to his evangelical faith. Arran was a man of licentious character, whose craft and boldness no obstacle could arrest. What evils might not the pious men of Scotland apprehend from such a triumvirate! It was not long before the encroachments of despotism and disorder made their appearance.

The king had just ratified Craig's Confession of Faith, which became the first national covenant of Scotland, when Boyd, Archbishop of Glasgow, having died, the privy council granted to the Duke of Lennox, a disguised papist, the

revenues of the archbishopric; but as he was not able to draw them in his own name, he had recourse to a bishop of straw, according to the Tulchan system.

In vain had the General Assembly, in 1578, abolished all these bishops. "True," said they, "the bishops, but not the archbishops!" Lennox found a minister of Stirling, named Robert Montgomery, a weak, vain, and presumptuous man, who consented to play the mean part of his Tulchan; and the king imposed this puppet of an archbishop upon the General Assembly. But that body contained men too friendly to liberty, and too inimical to hierarchical abuses, not to protest against this simoniacal introduction of episcopacy.

In 1582, the Assembly of the Church of Scotland having met at St. Andrews, and the government understanding what they were about do do, a messenger-at-arms entered the hall and forbade them, under pain of rebellion, to proceed against Montgomery. But after serious deliberation the Assembly declared, that "No man can pretend to ecclesiastical functions, office, promotion, or benefice, by any absolute gift, collation, or admission by the civil magistrate or patron;" and that Montgomery, by accepting an ecclesiastical function at the hands of the state, had incurred the double penalty of deposition and excommunication. The act of 1582 is still in force in the church. It is thought that in our times it has not been strictly observed.*

Montgomery, in alarm, appeared before the Assembly, acknowledged that he had offended God and His church, humbled himself before them, and promised to give up the archbishopric. But incited by Lennox, who wanted *the milk of the cow*, he soon after entered with a band of soldiers into the hall in which the Presbyters of Glasgow had met, and presented an order from the king. The Presbytery refused to comply with this order, which they regarded as null in an ecclesiastical matter, and the moderator was

* In the cases of Marnoch and Auchterarder.

dragged from his chair, insulted and beaten, and thrown into prison. Thus did the storm of persecution begin to rage in consequence of the interference of the civil power.

The question was, whether the passions of men, their avarice and their ambition, ought to rule over the church in the place of Jesus Christ, His word, and His truth. The church stood firm. She attended to this saying, "Abhor that which is evil, cleave to that which is good." The excommunication of Montgomery was intimated from the pulpits, and an Extraordinary Assembly having met, drew up an address to the king in these terms:—"Your Majesty, by device of some counsellors, is caused to take upon your Grace that spiritual power and authority, which properly belongeth to Christ, as only King and Head of his kirk. The ministry and execution thereof is only given to such as bear office in the ecclesiastical government of the same. So that in your Grace's person some men press to erect a new popedom, as though your Majesty could not be free king and head of this commonwealth, unless as well the spiritual as the temporal sword be put in your Grace's hand; unless Christ be bereft of his authority, and the two jurisdictions confounded which God hath divided."

It now remained to present this spirited address to the king. A deputation, at the head of which was that excellent minister Andrew Melville, repaired to Perth, where the king was residing. The court was indignant at the boldness of the Assembly, the two favorites exclaimed loudly against it, and all were apprehensive that the ministers would expiate their audacity with their lives. "Beware!" they were told, "beware of appearing before the king." Melville replied, "I thank God, I am not afraid, nor feeble spirited in the cause and message of Christ. Come what God pleases to send, our commission shall be discharged!"

Accordingly, notwithstanding all solicitations and all menaces, the deputies on the following day proceeded to the palace. Did not their Heavenly Master say, "Ye shall be

brought before governors and kings for my sake, for a testimony against them and the Gentiles. But take no thought how or what ye shall speak: for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak. And fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear Him who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell."

The deputies entered, and the king in council (he was then sixteen years of age) received them sitting on his throne, and surrounded with the splendor of his court. Melville went forward, and gravely read the remonstrance. But hardly had he finished, when the Earl of Arran, who was standing near the throne, frowning terribly on all around him, exclaimed in a threatening voice, "Who dare subscribe these treasonable articles?"

"We dare," replied Melville calmly; and then advancing to the table which was before the king, he took a pen from the hand of the secretary of the council, and signed his name below the articles. The other deputies immediately followed his example. Every one was struck with wonder, and none dared to interrupt them.

This Christian calmness laid the storm. "A wise man will pacify wrath," saith the Scripture. Arran, overawed, was silent; Lennox addressed some conciliatory words to the deputies; the king yielded, Montgomery retired; and the jurisdiction of the church, in regard to the calling and the deprivation of ministers, was thus sanctioned anew by this very transaction. In the same manner it was, in the question of the deposition or suspension of ministers, that the government interfered during the years preceding the formation of the Free Church. Does, then, the British government, one of the most enlightened, most truly liberal administrations in political matters, believe itself able, in the present day, to achieve what an almost absolute king, surrounded by his favorites, dared not do in the sixteenth century? We do not answer this question; we merely propose it.

The spirited resistance of the church bore its fruits. Soon

afterwards, a better administration came into power; Lennox and Arran were removed from the king, and satisfaction was diffused throughout the kingdom.

V.

KING JAMES AND PRESBYTERIANISM.

This did not last long. The young son of Mary Stuart recalled his flatterers; and, in May 1584, he convened a parliament, which met with closed doors, and in which Montgomery sat as Archbishop of Glasgow; and Adamson, a still baser character, as Archbishop of St. Andrews. These two prelates, leagued with the unworthy favorites of James, directed the most despotic measures. It was then that those acts were passed, famous in the history of Scotland, and known by the name of the *Black Acts*, which, as has been said in our own time, even by one of the heads of the moderate party, the Dean of Faculty, "annihilated the church, and left her neither liberty nor independence." These acts decreed that the king and his council were "judges competent in all matters;" that all judgment, spiritual or temporal, which had not been approved by the king and his parliament, should be of no force; and that the bishops and ecclesiastical commissioners appointed by the king, might rule in all that concerns the church.

The Black Acts set up the state to rule over the church, and, under the state, set up the bishops, who were merely its servile agents; while, on the contrary, the Second Book of Discipline established for its government General Assemblies, proceeding from the free choice of the Christian people.

The struggle then began anew between the servitude of the church and her freedom.

At first every thing tended towards her servitude. The Black Acts were proclaimed at the market-cross of Edin-

burgh. In vain did a few ministers read at the same place, in presence of the people, a protest against a legislation, which was a deathblow to the church: the will of the king, or rather that of Arran, prevailed, and more than twenty ministers were obliged to fly for safety into England.

But a remedy was produced even by the excess of the evil. The papist princes of the Continent were then taking measures to re-establish the authority of the Pope in Scotland. Philip of Spain sent his famous Armada to bring Great Britain again under the yoke of the Roman pontiff. It was more than suspected that the king's favorites had been cognizant of these perfidious designs. The Protestant spirit awoke with fresh energy; there was a new movement, a reaction in a purely evangelical direction; and, on the 22d October, 1589, the king, setting out for Norway, where he was to marry the Princess Anne of Denmark, appointed Robert Bruce, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, an extraordinary member of his privy council, declaring that he trusted to him to preserve peace in the country more than to all his nobles.

In effect, the most perfect tranquillity prevailed throughout the country during the king's absence. This period was for Presbyterianism the most happy of the sixteenth century. On his return, James, delighted with the services rendered to him by the Presbyterian ministers, called a General Assembly in August 1590, and, whether moved by dissimulation, or by a transient fit of enthusiasm, there pronounced that eulogium on the Church of Scotland, which afterwards became so famous:—"I thank God that I was born in such a time as the time of the light of the Gospel, to such a place as to be king in such a kirk, the sincerest kirk in the world. The kirk of Geneva," continued he, (he alluded to it as being the most illustrious, and, with Scotland, the purest,) "the kirk of Geneva keepeth Pasch and Yule." (In Scotland they keep no festivals; they regard them as remnants of the Romish church, and they will keep nothing but the Sabbath as instituted in the Word of God.) "What have

they for them?" resumed James; "they have no institution. As for our neighbor kirk in England, it is an evil said mass in English, wanting nothing but the liftings. I charge you, my good people, ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort the people to do the same; and I, forsooth, so long as I brook my life and crown, shall maintain the same against all deadly enemies."

James forgot these words but too soon. In the meantime, however, they produced their effect, and in 1592, the parliament passed a bill abolishing all "acts contrary to the true religion," which has ever since been regarded as the great charter of the Church of Scotland.

On the one hand, this act of 1592 ratifies and approves the General Assemblies, as instituted by the church, with the Synods and Presbyteries; that is to say, the whole system established by the Second Book of Discipline.

On the other hand, it declares the Black Acts to be "expired, null, and of none avail;" and most specially asserts that "they shall in no wise be prejudicial, nor derogate any thing to the privilege that God hath given to the spiritual office-bearers in the kirk, concerning heads of religion, matters of heresy, excommunication, collation, or deprivation of ministers, or any such like essential censures specially grounded and having warrant of the Word of God." Thus did the Church of Scotland, in the sixteenth century, lay down principles which were destined, three centuries after, to meet with such warm advocates.

VI.

TWO KINGS AND TWO KINGDOMS.

The struggle soon commenced anew. Not only were Jesuits and priests wandering over Scotland, threatening evil both to church and state; not only was it asserted that a

Spanish fleet was coming over with 30,000 men, who, in concert with the partisans of the people in Scotland, were to suppress Protestantism; but the king himself was beginning to lean towards that side. Desirous of securing his succession to the English throne, he was rapidly declining from Presbyterianism, which he knew to be distasteful beyond the Tweed; and, being aware that in the states of Elizabeth there existed a powerful Catholic party, he even attempted to conciliate them. Those Scottish lords, therefore, who were inclined to that cause returned home, and the government was intrusted by the king to eight councillors, called *Octavians*, from their number, the majority of whom were Roman Catholics, either avowedly or disguised, and whose actions soon justified all the fears of the reformers. Could the church in Scotland resist an attack in which so many inimical parties were combined?

The Commissioners of the General Assembly resolved to send a deputation to the king, to avert the evils with which their country was threatened; and they appointed, as their speaker, James Melville, Andrew's nephew, on account of his courteous manners, and because he was in favor with the sovereign. But hardly had he begun his address, when the king sharply interrupted him, and accused the Presbyterian ministers of sedition. James Melville was about to reply in a most submissive manner, when his uncle, seeing that now or never was the time to state broadly the great principles of the church, quitted the subordinate position which he had then taken, and coming forward addressed the king. The monarch ordered him to be silent; but Andrew, taking him by the sleeve, forced him to listen to these words, which must have rung strangely in James's ears: "Sir, there are two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland: there is Christ Jesus, and his kingdom, the kirk, whose subject King James the Sixth is, and of whose kingdom not a king, nor a head, nor a lord, but a member. And they whom Christ has called and commanded to watch over his kirk, and govern his spir-

itual kingdom, have sufficient power from him, and authority so to do, both together and severally, the which no Christian king or prince should control and discharge, but fortify and assist. We will yield to you your place, and give all due obedience; but again, I say, you are not the head of the church; you cannot give us eternal life, and you cannot deprive us of it. If ye seek both kingdoms, ye shall lose both; whereas, in cleaving uprightly to God, his true servants should be your friends, and he would compel the rest to give over themselves and serve you."

Thus spoke Andrew Melville. He had boldly asserted those principles of the liberty of the church, which are the surest guarantees of civil freedom. The king uttered no word of anger, he contested not what he had just heard, and even promised what was demanded of him. This was in 1596.

But this calm was merely apparent, and behind it a terrible storm was gathering. A church and a state, whose principles were so opposite, and which were, nevertheless, united, could only experience fearful convulsions. It was a dangerous situation both for the prince and the ministry. Doubtless, the principles maintained by Melville in his address to the king, were founded on truth itself; doubtless, he spoke out with a Christian courage which deserves the admiration of posterity. Yet the manner in which Melville apostrophized the prince, "God's silly vassal," is in contradiction to this Scripture principle, "Honor the king." Our attachment to the independence of the church must not cause us to overlook the faults of those who were then maintaining it.

James was silent, but vengeance lurked within his heart; and we shall soon see how the torrent of his anger, for a moment pent up, violently burst forth and spread ruin and desolation over the whole Church of Scotland.

The sixteenth century closed. I now stop.

I have but one word to add. Those men were strong,

that church was strong. In our days it is easier to find weak men, and a weak church. Does the sight of such strength terrify us? It is, indeed, an alarming thing, if courage intimidates, and if strength overawes us. If I desire strength within a church, it is not so much in its conflicts with the powers of the world. Doubtless, wherever this conflict may arise, Christ demands of his people the same courage. But the great principle of the independence of the two powers, becoming more and more triumphant in Christendom, seems to insure to the people a peace which, in that respect, has often been disturbed: we know something of this in Switzerland and in Geneva. But if the church carefully withdraws herself from all collision with the state, has she, therefore, no need of energy? Should she be strong in war alone, and not be strong in peace? Did not her Head give her this command: "Preach the Gospel to every creature?" Is the world converted to Christ? Does our King possess the gates of the Gentiles? Not so, and yet there are Christians who are slumbering. Oh! could we but cease to be feeble men, we, the subjects of the mighty God! May the love of Christ and of his church be again kindled within our souls, as in the days of Melville and of Knox, so that this saying of our Head may be fulfilled: "The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force."

CHAPTER VI.

SCOTTISH STRUGGLES.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. PRELACY OF LAUD.

First Period. 1600 *to* 1660.

1. Utility of History. Maxim of James. Basilicon Doron. King-craft. General Assembly gained over. Representation in Parliament. Northern Legion. The king prevails. James, King of England. Assembly of Aberdeen. Persecution.—2. Welsh, Minister of Ayr. Six Ministers before the Jury. Welsh's Speech. Letter to Lilias Graham. The parting at Leith. Welsh in France. Acts of 1610 and 1612. The Five Articles of Perth. Welsh and Louis XIII. Mrs. Welsh and King James.—3. Charles I. Arminianism and Immorality in Scotland. Prelacy of Laud. The Canons. The Two Parties. The Inquisition. Rutherford in Prison. The Service Book brought into Edinburgh.—4. 23rd July, 1637. The Service Book interrupted. Interdict. Agitation. Orders of the King. Complaint against Bishops. Fast. 28th February, 1658. The Covenant signed. Livingstone. The Highlands. Grutli.—5. Hamilton. General Assembly called. The Bishops accused. The Lord High Commissioner withdraws. Firmness of the Assembly. Second Reformation. The Covenanters.—6. Westminster Assembly. Election of Pastors. Abolition of Patronage. Charles II. called. Ireland and Scotland. Resolutionists and Protesters. Ten Years of Peace. Spiritual Warfare.

I.

KING-CRAFT.

"TAKE heed how ye hear." There are some who will hear nothing but histories, and there are others who will hear nothing but sermons. Some there are whom history shocks and scandalizes; there are others whom sermons

fatigue and weary. To both of these the Word of God says, "Take heed how ye hear." If you will not listen to the instructions of history, you make yourselves to be wiser than God. Open your Bible. What do you find there? In what manner has it specially pleased God to instruct mankind and the church? Not entirely by sermons, but very frequently by histories. History forms a great portion both of the Old and of the New Testament. Nay, more; though, doubtless, there are discourses in the Bible, yet these very discourses are often entirely historical. Take that of St. Stephen, for instance; take many of St. Paul's. And when Paul, in his Epistle to the Hebrews, would quicken the faith of those whom he addresses, he has recourse to history, and brings successively before their eyes those "elders" who form a "great cloud," and who by faith "obtained a good report." We have not to present to you such accounts as St. Paul; nevertheless, may the example of those "who by faith subdued kingdoms and wrought righteousness," confirm our hearts in the grace of Jesus Christ.

"No bishop, no king." This favorite maxim of King James certainly did not mean, that without a bishop the political power of kings could not subsist: he had not forgotten that his political power had never been more respected than under the influence of Presbyterianism. But he desired to be king in the church as well as in the state, and thought that bishops would be necessary for such an end. He was willing to bestow upon them wealth and honors; but in return they must acknowledge his spiritual jurisdiction.

We do not agree with King James in this opinion; we do not see that subjection to civil power should be essential to the episcopal system. This would be doing it a great injustice, and besides, the episcopal church of America proves the contrary.

King James set forth his system in a book which he published at that time, entitled "Basilicon Doron, Royal Gift,

or Instructions of a King to his Son." The royal author maintains in this work, "that the office of a king is of a mixed kind, partly civil and partly ecclesiastical; that a principal part of his function consists in ruling the church; that it belongs to him to judge when preachers wander from their text, and that such as refuse to submit to his judgment in such cases ought to be capitally punished; that no ecclesiastical assemblies ought to be held without his consent; that no man is more to be hated of a king than a proud puritan; that parity among ministers is irreconcilable with monarchy, inimical to order, and the mother of confusion; that episcopacy should be set up, and all who preached against bishops rigorously punished."

Such was King James's theory: he immediately set about reducing it to practice: and not being able to succeed in this by force, he had recourse to what he himself called "king-craft."

The ministers of Edinburgh having been banished, or obliged to conceal themselves, James endeavored to obtain a General Assembly, the majority of which should be weak and unprincipled men. One of his chamberlains, Sir Patrick Murray, travelled for this purpose over the northern parts of the kingdom. The king succeeded, and fifty-five questions upon church government having been proposed to the Assembly, were taken into consideration.

He then advanced another step, and requested the Assembly to appoint a committee of fourteen of its members, who should be empowered to advise with him upon such questions as might arise: this they granted. James then induced the ecclesiastical council to present a petition to Parliament, demanding that the church should have a voice in the supreme council of the nation. The Parliament acceded to this, and declared that the prelates formed the Third Estate of the kingdom.

It was now necessary to persuade the General Assembly to accept this apparent favor.

Every thing was set to work for that purpose. The ecclesiastical committee wrote a circular to all the ministers, in which they were told, that this representation of the church in Parliament was the only means of obtaining from the state permanent stipends for the ministry. A share in the budget—was the bait presented to the church, to induce her to sacrifice her independence.

Another Assembly was convened. The "Northern Legion," that of Aberdeen, was again recruited, and every means was adopted to bring in, as elders, the nobles who had already voted in Parliament for the measure; and the king in opening the Assembly made a speech, in which he declared that he did not intend to introduce Popish or Anglican bishops. The debates were long and animated. The most pious and able ministers rejected those expectations of wealth, honor, and power, which were coveted by the worldly. Nevertheless, the motion was adopted in a general form by a majority of ten, but the execution of it was referred to another Assembly. All, therefore, was not definitively settled.

The king, determined to obtain his ends, declared that he would allow the ministers to die in poverty, if his wishes were not complied with; and that he would establish bishops by his own authority. On the 20th of March, 1600, a General Assembly met at Montrose. James redoubled his endeavors, and he succeeded. It was, however, decided that the representatives of the Assembly in Parliament should not be called bishops, but commissioners of the church; that they should not propose any thing to Parliament without the warrant of the General Assembly; that they should give an account to it, and submit to its censure under pain of excommunication. But all this was only king-craft. That same year the king nominated three bishops to the sees of Ross, Caithness, and Aberdeen.

In 1603, Elizabeth of England dying, James VI. of Scotland was proclaimed king of England, by the title of James I.,

and the Presbyterian church had, thenceforward, to anticipate a long period of mourning.

In 1605 the General Assembly was appointed to meet. Several Presbyteries had already elected their representatives; and nine of them, feeling convinced that, as the barriers of ecclesiastical discipline were thrown down, corruption of doctrine would shortly invade the church, sent their deputies to Aberdeen, with instructions to constitute the Assembly, and then to adjourn until the king should authorize their deliberations. But hardly had the Assembly met when a messenger-at-arms entered, and charged them, in the king's name, to dissolve on pain of rebellion. The Assembly declared themselves ready to obey this order, and requested the royal commissioner, according to established custom, to name a day and place for their next meeting to be held. The commissioner refusing to do so, the moderator appointed the last Tuesday of September, and closed the Assembly with prayer.

The king's anger on learning these proceedings knew no bounds. He sent to Scotland an order to proceed with the utmost rigor against those ministers who had dared to disobey him; and fourteen of the most eminent, among whom was John Welsh, the son-in-law of Knox, were thrown into prison.

II.

A FREE MINISTER AND A SERVILE CHURCH.

Welsh was minister at Ayr, to which place he had been called in 1590. The population of the town were then so degraded, that the inhabitants were often seen fighting in the streets. But the spirit of the Lord soon transformed his flock. Welsh spent whole days praying in the Church of Ayr for his parishioners, wrestling alone with God. His plaid lay always by his bedside, and often in the middle of

the night he would rise, wrap himself in this garment, and pour forth his soul before his Master. "I wonder," he used to say, "how a Christian can lie in bed all night and not rise to pray." He generally devoted eight hours a day to calling upon the Lord. To prayer he added activity. Often during the first years of his ministry, when sticks and stones were flying about the streets of Ayr, he would cover his head with a helmet to defend himself from their blows, and throw himself among these poor people to separate them. Welsh experienced the truth of the promise, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God." The wolves were changed into lambs, and many of his flock soon exhibited as much piety and devotedness as himself.

Six of the ministers who had been sent to prison, among whom was Welsh, were brought before the Criminal Court at Linlithgow, as guilty of High Treason. Here these generous Christians boldly confessed before the jury the great principles of the Church of Scotland,—the spiritual independence of the Lord's Church. "As for this matter whereof we are now accused," said Welsh, "and of which ye are to be our judges this day, we speak unto you the truth in the sight of our God; that in this point we are thoroughly and fully resolved, that it is the undoubted truth of God, and that it belongs to the crown and kingdom of Jesus Christ; and we are ready (if so the Lord shall call us and strengthen us) to seal it up with the testimony of our blood. And this our resolution is neither of yesterday nor to-day; for the twenty-four weeks of our imprisonment might have given us sufficient time and leisure to have thought of its weightiness and gravity; and howsoever many think it but a thing indifferent, yet it is not so in our conscience, but a main and essential point of Christ's kingdom, of whose royal prerogatives this is one; that He should be only Sovereign Judge in all the matters belonging to his kingdom, and that in and by his kirk. For as we have our callings and offices of Him only by the kirk, so should we be judged in all the duties

of our office only by Him in his kirk. And seeing parliaments, councils, and all civil judicatories belong only to the royal crown of an earthly king, even so all the meetings, conventions, and assemblies of the kirk, which is the kingdom of Christ, belong essentially to his royal authority and to his kingdom."

Notwithstanding this spirited defence, the six ministers were condemned and thrown into prison, until the king should pass sentence upon them.

John Welsh was again confined in the dungeons of Blackness castle. We are acquainted with the sentiments of this noble confessor of Christ while in his prison: he stated them in a letter written to Lilias Graham, which has been preserved. "Who am I," wrote he from within those walls, "that He should first have so called me, and constituted me a minister of the glad tidings of the Gospel of salvation these years already; and now, last of all, to be a sufferer for his cause and kingdom? Now, let it be so, that I have fought my fight, and run my race, and now from henceforth is laid up for me that crown of righteousness which the Lord, the righteous judge, will give, and not to me only, but to all that love his appearance, and are chosen to witness this, that Jesus Christ is the King of Saints, and that his church is a most free kingdom, yea, as free as any kingdom under heaven. We have been ever waiting with joyfulness to give the last testimony of our blood in confirmation thereof, if it should please our God to be so favorable as to honor us with that dignity; and it would be the most glorious day and gladdest hour I ever saw in this life."

Such, in the prison of Blackness, were the sentiments of this servant of God. It was generally expected that Welsh and his friends would be condemned to death; but the people were so earnest in their favor, that James judged it most prudent to sentence them to banishment only.

At midnight, on the 7th of November, the dungeons in which Welsh and his five colleagues were confined, were

thrown open; guards with lighted torches surrounded them, and led them quickly from their prison to the sea-side. It was two o'clock in the morning, and the scene then presented on the shore of Leith was still more overpowering than that which is recorded in the 21st chapter of the Acts, when Paul, repairing to Jerusalem, was accompanied to the ship by the Christians of Tyre, with their wives and children, and all were kneeling on the ground.

Notwithstanding the hour of the night, which had been purposely chosen for the prisoners to embark, a great multitude had suddenly gathered on the shore, to bid them a last farewell. Welsh uttered an affectionate prayer, and the whole assembly, lighted by a few flickering torches on the sea-side, sang the 23d Psalm, "The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want." The exiles then left the soil of Scotland, accompanied by the tears and the prayers of their brethren.

Welsh, as we know, came to France, where three months after his arrival he began to preach in French. He was at first pastor at Nerac, afterwards at St. Jean d'Angely. These churches have preserved affecting recollections of his residence there. They still remember how he acted and spoke in the presence of Louis XIII., with the same courage which had inspired him before the agents of James I. His midnight prayers, during his abode in Saintonge, and the wonderful effects they produced, are among the most interesting reminiscences of French Protestantism.

The firmest men being now removed, James advanced rapidly in the establishment of Prelacy. The bishops were appointed constant Moderators of the Synods and Presbyteries; Parliament empowered them to modify the stipends of the ministers, and two Courts of High Commission were created, by means of which the king exercised an absolute power in the church.

A servile Assembly, held at Glasgow in 1610, delivered up the church to the king and the bishops; and the Parliament in 1612, when ratifying its acts, declared that the king

was the only lawful supreme governor of the realm, "as well in matters spiritual and ecclesiastical, as in things temporal."

This act of parliament also established, that in case a minister presented by the patron should be refused by the ecclesiastical authority, without sufficient reason, the lords of the session and council, upon a complaint being made to them, should oblige the ecclesiastical authority to admit the minister presented by the patron. This is the same right which has lately been claimed by the civil courts, only that the civil power in our day has gone farther than in the time of King James; since this act of 1612 respected ministers already in office, while, in our times, the state seeks to oblige the church to admit mere licentiates, or probationers. However, the act of 1612 was itself abolished afterwards by the Revolution settlement.

A General Assembly, which met at Perth in 1618, surrounded with armed men, and threatened with the king's anger, accepted in alarm and terror the Five Articles of Perth; which established, among other things, Episcopal confirmation, and the obligation of kneeling at the Communion, a practice which the Scotch held in the greatest horror, regarding it as worship paid to the Host. These Five Articles received the sanction of Parliament on the 4th of August, 1621, a day known in the history of Scotland by the name of Black Saturday.

It was three or four years after this that John Welsh, who had passed fourteen years in exile, returned to England. His residence in France proves to us that it is no new thing for the Church of Scotland to take a share in the evangelization of the Continent. Welsh was the pastor of St. Jean d'Angely, when Louis XIII., making war against the Protestants, besieged that town in person. He encouraged the inhabitants in their defence, till the king consented to leave them their privileges, and merely demanded to enter the city in a friendly manner. The Scottish minister continued to preach,

which so irritated the king, that the Duke d'Epernon was ordered to drag the bold minister from the pulpit, and bring him before Louis. The duke having entered the church, followed by the guards, Welsh desired room to be made, and invited that nobleman to sit down and hear the Word of the Lord. The duke took a seat, and, when the sermon was finished, ordered Welsh to follow him. "How dare you," asked the king, "preach in this place, since it is against the laws of the kingdom to deliver sermons where I hold my court?" "Sire," replied Welsh, "if you did right, you would come and hear me preach, and make all France hear me likewise: for I preach, that you must be saved by the death and merits of Jesus Christ, and not by your own; and I declare, that as you are King of France, you are under the authority of no man upon earth. Those priests whom you hear," continued the Scotchman, "subject you to the Pope of Rome, which I will never do." "Well, well," said the king, smiling, "you shall be *my* minister;" and dismissed him graciously.

In 1621, the war being renewed, the king took the town, and ordered the captain of his guard to enter and preserve *his minister* from all danger. Welsh was sent to Rochelle with his family. His French flock being thus dispersed, and his own health much weakened, he was advised to return to breathe his native air. He arrived in London, but notwithstanding the declarations of the physicians, King James would never allow him to return to Scotland. "If he were there," said he, "I could never establish Episcopacy."

Mrs. Welsh obtained an audience of the king, and entreated him to save her husband's life, by granting him permission to return to his country. "Who was your father?" asked the king. "Mr. Knox," replied she.—"Knox and Welsh!" exclaimed the king; "the devil never made such a match as that!"—"It's right like, sir," she answered; "for we never asked his advice."

The daughter of Knox, again urging her request that her

dying husband might once more breathe his native air, the king told her he would grant it only on condition that she should persuade Welsh to submit to the bishops. "Please your Majesty," replied this heroic woman, taking up her apron by the corners, and holding it out as if to receive the head of her husband, "I would rather *kep* (receive) his head there." James would not even allow Welsh to preach in London until he learned that he was at the point of death, and then consented in unfeeling mockery. Welsh hastened to embrace this opportunity of once more proclaiming the good tidings of salvation. He preached with great fervor, and two hours after he entered into his everlasting rest.

III.

THE KING'S CANONS AND THE IMPRISONED MINISTERS.

On the 27th March, 1625, King James died, and his son, Charles I., who inherited his despotic temper, but was endowed with more firmness, had soon recourse to measures destined to awaken the whole nation to energetic resistance.

These encroachments of power were becoming more and more easy. Orthodox Christians, in general, show themselves jealous of the independence of the church; while, on the contrary, Arminians, Arians, and Socinians, think too cheaply of it. Truth, in Scotland, now fell, and with it liberty fell also. The young Scottish bishops, and all that was worldly in the church, zealously embraced Arminian errors. Christ being lowered as a King, he must also be lowered as a Priest and as a Prophet. Moreover, morality was declining, and dissipation, profanation of the Lord's Day, vice and profligacy, increased rapidly.

The moment had now arrived for striking a decisive blow. Charles I., the grandson of Mary Stuart, a descendant of the Guises, visited Scotland in 1633, resolved upon the definitive establishment of Prelacy, which, if not under this prince,

at least under his son, would, without a Providential intervention, have brought about the re-establishment of Popery. It was not—mark this well—it was not pure Episcopacy, the evangelical Episcopacy of the Thirty-nine Articles, that he desired to establish in Scotland; it was the semi-popish Prelacy of Laud, which has always been as much opposed to the Episcopacy of Latimer and Cranmer, as to the Presbyterianism of Melville and Knox.

Charles I. appointed a bishop of Edinburg; he then published, by letters patent, on the 23d of May, 1635, a book called "The Book of Canons," which had been submitted to the approbation of the Archbishop Laud, and which was intended to serve for the government of the church. The first of these canons pronounced excommunication against all who should deny the king's supremacy in ecclesiastical matters. It was also decreed, that General Assemblies should be called only by the king's authority; that no ecclesiastical business should be discussed, except in the bishops' courts; that no private meeting or conventicle should be held; and that no minister in public should use extemporary prayer. On hearing these canons, the people of Scotland were filled with horror, and all recognized in them a stepping-stone to Popery.

Every thing was marching towards it. The two parties silently prepared for the conflict. The prelates, leaning more and more upon the political power of the state, established themselves in the Privy Council, the Exchequer, and the Courts of Justice; while the Christians sought strength in the Word of God and in fervent prayer. Their preachers have been accused of turning the pulpit into a mere political tribune; but their writings still exist, and in them we find the purest piety.

Many of them had soon to bear their Master's cross. Each of the bishops, within his own diocese, held Church Courts, before which they cited whomsoever they pleased. "These courts," says Bishop Burnet, "differed little from

the Inquisition." Among the pious men whom they attacked, was Samuel Rutherford, minister of Anwoth. Rising commonly at three o'clock in the morning, Rutherford spent the whole day in reading the Word, in prayer, study, writing, and visiting his flock. Some of his compositions were so powerful that the Bishop of Galloway, in 1630, summoned him before the Court of High Commission, and afterwards caused him to be imprisoned at Aberdeen. Such was his love for his flock, that often when walking about his prison chamber, and standing before the bars of his window, Rutherford envied the lot of the swallows, free to fly to the church of Anwoth. But his heart was still fuller of the love of Christ; and thus his prison soon became to him a palace. The Lord hid him in his pavilion in the time of trouble, and lifted up his head above his enemies. (Ps. xxvii. 5, 6.) Often, during his slumbers, his wondering keepers heard him speaking to the Lord. "I know no sweeter way to Heaven," said he to one of his friends, "than the free grace of Christ, and the hard trials of the cross put together in the same life."

Such were already the sufferings of Christ's servants, when a letter from the king, and an act of the Privy Council, under the sanction of the General Assembly and the Parliament, ordered that a Liturgy, revised by Laud, and modelled by him after the Romish Missal, "as nearly," says Kirkton, "as English can be to Latin," should be introduced into the churches of Edinburgh. A murmur of indignation arose throughout Scotland; dark clouds gathered over that ancient country; and by the cries that were heard from the hills of Caledonia to the shores of the sea, it was evident that a fearful storm was about to burst forth. The illegal act of a king, who claimed to command at his pleasure in the church of Jesus Christ, was about to be answered by the spontaneous resistance of a whole people. I do not approve of the manner in which this national energy manifested itself; but as for the resistance, I dare not con-

demn it. It may find its warrant in the charter of Heaven itself.

IV.

THE COVENANT.

On the 23d of July, 1637, the great attempt was to be made at Edinburgh to revolutionize the church by a stroke of state policy. Several prelates had repaired to the capital to sanction and dignify by their presence the introduction of the Missal in disguise. An immense congregation met in the cathedral of St. Giles. A calm and deep sadness, mingled with indignation and vengeance, rendered this a solemn scene.

The dean of Edinburgh was to strike the fatal blow. Arrayed in his white surplice, which fell in graceful folds from his shoulders down to the knees, the wide sleeves hanging loosely behind, the priest appeared, went up into the pulpit, and began to read the service of the day before a people who could scarcely contain their feelings. He had uttered but a few words, when, suddenly, an old woman, Jenny Geddes by name, rose up, exclaiming, "Villain!—dost thou say mass at my lug?" And then, remembering perhaps Him who in the temple overthrew the tables of the money-changers, and poured out their money to defend His Father's house (John ii.), this Presbyterian Scotchwoman seized the stool on which she sat, and hurled it, with the energy of her nation, at the Mass Book and the dean's head.

A fierce tumult immediately burst out, and the church became one scene of confusion. Several persons rushed towards the reading desk. The frightened priest escaped, leaving his sacerdotal ornaments in the hands of the people. In vain did the Bishop of Edinburgh himself endeavor to ascend the pulpit; the magistrates could hardly protect him, and it required great exertions to save the other prelates.

Such was the fatal storm raised by the illegal intrusions of the state.

Events like these are to be deplored, and many writers, both English and foreign, have taken advantage of them to attack the Church of Scotland; but it must not be overlooked that every system runs into some excesses, and if the Church of Scotland has done so in one way, that of England has in another. This reflection ought to teach toleration to the wise of all parties. If the scum of popular passions was then thrown up, we must not forget that it was the mighty hand of God which caused the waters of the deep to rise.

The astonished and alarmed prelates beheld with consternation this impetous outburst of popular fury, which, overflowing the bounds appointed by God, had even invaded the pulpit, and dashed the Liturgy from their trembling hands. It was the women, it is true, who had suddenly opposed so energetic a resistance to the ministers of the absolute will of Charles I.; but the bishops fancied that they could see hidden behind their caps and aprons adversaries still more terrible,—the wrath of the whole nation. Archbishop Spottiswood, a worthy imitator of the popes of the middle ages, laid the whole town under an interdict, and suspended all public worship even on the holy day of Sunday. This was like Boniface VII. excommunicating Philip the Fair and the kingdom of France. They thought it better that the people should not worship God at all, than worship him without the Missal!

The news of what had taken place in Edinburgh spread instantly all over the kingdom, and was everywhere regarded as the trumpet-signal which called upon Presbyterian Scotland to rise in defence of her liberties. The ministers, so long oppressed by the tyranny of the court and of the prelates, as they saw the ardor of the people around them, began to understand that the days of their servitude were drawing to an end. The Privy Council informed the king of the universal discontent caused by the introduction of what

was called the Mass Book, and pointed out to him the dangers which might ensue, if he persisted in that imprudent course.

But, says the Hebrew sage, "Better is a poor and a wise child, than an old and foolish king who will no more be admonished." (Ec. iv. 13.) Charles replied to this prudent advice by a severe letter, blaming the Privy Council for their weakness, and ordering the Liturgy to be everywhere introduced without delay. They endeavored to submit. There was even a bishop who, in order to obey the civil power, shut himself up in his church, barricaded the doors for fear of the people, and there read his Mass Book in triumph—to himself. This was quite in the spirit of the Romish tradition. Are there not in popery, private masses at which the priest officiates alone?

On hearing of this royal order, the Presbyterians flocked to Edinburgh from all parts of the country. The whole nation was awakened from its slumber of forty years. They presented to the Privy Council a formal complaint against the bishops. It was drawn up by the Earl of Loudon and David Dickson. The prelates were therein accused of being the causes of all the commotions of the kingdom; and the false doctrines, the superstitions, and the idolatry to be found in the canons were pointed out. It was shown, moreover, that this legislation was subversive of the constitution of the church; and the redress of these grievances, and the re-establishment of the principles of the Reformation, were earnestly demanded.

The king then issued a proclamation, in which he declared that "the bishops were unjustly accused as being the authors of the Service Book and Canons, seeing whatever was done by them in that matter, was by his Majesty's authority and order."

The Scottish people comprehended the serious nature of their situation. They were required to submit to the arbitrary power of the state in religious matters; to bow their

heads under the disgraceful yoke of the canons and the prelates, or to make an open resistance. They could no longer hesitate.

But, first of all, they remembered that the Lord had said, "If my people shall humble themselves, and pray, and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways, then will I hear from heaven, and will forgive their sin, and will heal their land." (2 Chron. vii. 14.) A solemn fast was proclaimed and observed, to confess the sins of the church. And then, gathering into one document the Old Covenant of 1581, which King James himself, the father of the reigning monarch, had signed, and all the acts condemnatory of Popery, with an addition applying them to the present circumstances, the Scotch laid hold of these legitimate charters of their nation, and presented them before Heaven.

On the 28th February, 1638, a great crowd filled the Grayfriars Church in Edinburgh, and in the burial-ground 60,000 Presbyterians had assembled. Henderson, the minister, fervently invoked the Divine blessing on this vast meeting, and the Earl of Loudon stated the motives which had brought them together. Johnstone unrolled the parchment, on which these Scottish charters were inscribed, and read them in a clear, calm voice. When he had finished, there was a deep and solemn silence: a few explanations were demanded and given; then, again, all was still as the grave.

But the silence was soon broken. An aged man of noble air was seen advancing; it was the Earl of Sutherland, one of the most considerable of the Scottish barons, whose possessions included all the northern parts of the British Isles. He came forward slowly, and deep emotion was visible in his venerable features. He took up the pen with a trembling hand and signed the document.

A general movement now took place. All the Presbyterians within the church pressed forward to the Covenant and subscribed their names. But this was not enough; a

whole nation was waiting: the immense parchment was carried into the church-yard, and spread out on a large tombstone, to receive on this expressive table the signature of the church. Scotland had never beheld a day like that. The heads of the people then said, as Joshua once did, "As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord. And the people answered and said, God forbid that we should forsake the Lord." (Josh. xxiv. 15, 16.) They rushed to the tomb which covered the ashes of one of Caledonia's sons, and on which was spread that charter by which the nation, in signing it, became "witnesses against themselves, that they chose the Lord to serve him." (v. 22.) Some sobbed, some shouted; some, after their names, added "till death," and others opening a vein, wrote their name with their own blood. There was no confusion, no tumult. After these hours of strong emotion, this immense multitude dispersed quietly, and each one returned to his home in peace.

On the following day, the parchment, to which it became necessary to add several more sheets, was carried to different parts of the town, that the inhabitants of the respective districts might affix their signatures. Crowds accompanied it from place to place, shedding tears and imploring the Divine blessing on these acts. At the same time a remarkable improvement took place in the life and manners of those who signed. With the exception of one instance of trifling inportance, no injury was anywhere done either to the prelates or their partisans.

The Covenant then began to make the circuit of Scotland. John Livingston was at Lanark, his father's parish, when it was read and sworn to by the minister, elders, and people. Livingston, yet a young minister, having been called upon to preach in the church of Shotts, in the year 1630, on a Communion day, had passed the whole night, from Sunday to Monday, in prayer. In the morning, standing on a tombstone, he preached in the churchyard to a great multitude, on Ezekiel xxxvi. 25, 26, "Then will I sprinkle clean water

upon you, and ye shall be clean." The pouring out of the Spirit of God was such, that five hundred persons could date their conversion from that day. Soon after, on a similar occasion, a thousand persons were either converted or remarkably confirmed; the preceding night having, in like manner, been devoted by the young minister and some pious friends to fervent prayer. The Covenant now arrived at Lanark; and the servant of the Most High again witnessed those powerful emotions which the Spirit of God had formerly excited in the church-yards of Shotts and of Holywood. Thousands of reformed Christians were standing with their hands uplifted, and tears falling from their eyes, while with one consent they all devoted themselves to the Lord.

Such scenes might be witnessed everywhere. In the Highlands especially, this Evangelical alliance was joyfully welcomed. The king and the prelates, with the view of getting rid of the most pious and steadfast ministers—Bruce, Rutherford, Dickson, and others—had banished them to those wild districts; but by the instructions of these godly ministers, vital Christianity had been widely spread abroad. Rival clans, which had never before met, except in strife, now saluted each other as brethren, and, after signing the Covenant, departed in charity and peace. The bishops were thunderstruck. "All that we have been doing these thirty years," exclaimed they, "is thrown down in one day."

Such was the commencement of that important affair of the Covenant, which a celebrated novelist has represented in so false a light. Such was the Grutli of Scotland. Many circumstances here, indeed, remind us of that solemn moment when Walter Furst, Stauffacher, Melchtal, and their friends, lifted their three fingers to heaven, and swore to save Switzerland from the tyranny of the Austrians. We must, nevertheless, observe, that Scotland had still greater evils to encounter. It was not only her political liberty which was endangered, it was also those rights of conscience which are

held of God alone, and which were then trampled on by worthy pupils of Innocent III., Pius V., Philip of Spain, and Charles IX. of France. And while great popular movements have been too often accompanied with irreligion and hatred of the Gospel, it was only by bowing the knee before God and His Word that the Scotch learned to present a forehead like adamant to the powers of the earth. (Ezek. iii. 9.) Yet, whatever may be the difference, we can never see a people having recourse to arms for the defence of their conscience, and forbear deploring it; for this can never be done without the mixture of earthly and spiritual things producing lamentable excesses. We say, and repeat with the Apostle: "We do not war after the flesh; for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God." (2 Cor. x. 3, 4.)

V.

SECOND REFORMATION.

The king, astounded at this great national movement, appointed the Marquis of Hamilton Lord High Commissioner, commanding him to re-establish Prelacy in Scotland, and secretly authorizing him to act any part he might think proper; and even, should it be necessary, to seem opposed to his views. For this purpose, Charles provided Hamilton beforehand with secret letters of pardon in these terms:—"These are, therefore, to assure you, that if need be, hereafter to testify to others, that whatsoever ye shall say to them to discover their intentions, ye shall neither be called in question for the same; nor yet shall it prove in any way prejudicial to you." We see that the king's letters of indulgence almost exceed those of the pope.

The majority of the English, and even the nobles, were opposed to the violent measures which the king was about to adopt. The English and the Scottish people do not in this

appear as rivals, but rather as brethren, enduring, in a greater or less degree, the same evils. It was from the Vatican, the Escurial, and the Louvre, that the tempest was blowing which was so soon to devastate Britain; and many of the English regarded the wrongs done to the Scotch, as if they had been inflicted on themselves.

To the perfidious conduct of Charles, the Scotch only offered a legitimate opposition. As soon as the Marquis of Hamilton arrived, they demanded of him a General Assembly and a Parliament, for they were willing to proceed conformably to the constitution both of church and state. The Lord High Commissioner, after much hesitation, decided upon trying that way. He hoped to influence the elections, as James I. had done, to sow disunion in the Assembly, and thus to maintain the royal supremacy in the church. Charles began, like his father, by "king-craft," reserving the sword for a future occasion.

For twenty years previously there had been no General Assembly in the Church of Scotland; and for forty years there had not been a pure one. The Presbyterians, deeply moved at beholding once more their ancient institutions, did all in their power to recall the principles which had fallen into oblivion. Whenever the congregations met for prayer, the members were seen exhorting one another to fidelity; and they returned as members of Assembly those ministers, nobles and gentlemen, who were the most able and the most zealous. Hamilton was in consternation at learning this: it was no servile Assembly, like those of Glasgow and Perth, which was now preparing. The Lord High Commissioner would willingly have prorogued this council of the Scottish Church, but he knew it would have been held notwithstanding his opposition. The cup must now be drained.

On the 21st of November, 1638, the ministers and elders of Scotland met, to advise upon the important affair of the restoration of Presbyterianism. The royal commissioner and the true Presbyterians at last were brought face to face. The

latter, aware that the slightest error would be their ruin, acted with remarkable prudence and firmness. That excellent minister, Alexander Henderson, the worthy successor of Knox and Melville, was chosen Moderator.

The Prelates, foreseeing the issue of their debates, sent in a declaration, by which they declined the judicature of the Assembly. But the latter declared, that as the prelates had sent a representative in their name, they had acknowledged it by that very act, and ordered an answer to that effect to be immediately drawn up.

This was done, and soon after, this formidable indictment was read in presence of the General Assembly, and of the commissioner of Charles I. The prelates were therein accused of having transgressed the limits (caveats) imposed upon them by the king, of having usurped a lordly supremacy over the church, of teaching heretical doctrines, and of having been personally guilty of irreligious conduct, and even of the grossest immorality. St. Paul, writing to Titus, had forbidden that men should be chosen bishops who were "soon angry," "given to wine," "accused of riot, or unruly." The church accused the bishops of the faults proscribed by St. Paul.

As soon as this paper had been read, the Moderator demanded of the Assembly whether they found themselves competent to sit in judgment upon that cause. Hamilton, who had listened with confusion to the scandalous enumeration of the tyranny, heresies, and vices of the prelates, forbade any further proceedings, and ordered the Assembly to dissolve.

What were the Presbyterians to do? They had received from the mouth of their Master the rule of their conduct. Jesus said, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." "All that belongeth to us we are ready to render unto his majesty," said Henderson; "our lives, our goods, and our liberties; all—all. But what belongs to God, and to the liberties of His house,

the piety of his majesty will not demand them of us; and, if he did, we could not sacrifice them. Even if your Grace should leave the Assembly," added Henderson and Lord Loudon, "the Assembly will continue to sit until it has performed its duty."

Hamilton felt great emotion: his voice trembled, his cheeks were pale, and tears fell from his eyes. "I stand," said he, "to the king's prerogative, as supreme judge over all causes civil and ecclesiastical. To him the lords of the clergy have appealed; and, therefore, I will not suffer their cause to be farther reasoned here." He then desired the Moderator to close the Assembly with prayer. Henderson refused to do so. The Lord High Commissioner then arose, declared the Assembly dissolved, and retired in distress and perplexity, foreseeing the terrible consequences which would ensue to his country.

This was a solemn moment for the church. The great question was set before her, "To be, or not to be?" It was to know, whether the authority of an earthly prince was to prevail within her, over the authority of her Eternal King. The royal power had withdrawn. The representative of Charles I., his knights, his councillors, his pages, had left the hall. But was there not present the King of kings, the Lord of lords, who had said, "I am with you always, even unto the end of the world?" (Matt. xxviii. 20.)

Henderson and the Presbyterians remained unmoved. In the name of Christ, their Invisible King, and in the name of the law violated by the state, this Assembly, representing the Church of Scotland, declared itself constituted, and competent to judge in all spiritual causes, notwithstanding the absence of the state; reserving, nevertheless, in order to show submission to the government, all that might entail any civil consequences.

Then this great Scottish council, proceeding with order and dignity, declared null all those Assemblies from 1606 to 1618, by which, in opposition to the constitutions of the

church and the nation, Prelacy had been introduced into Scotland. They condemned the five articles of Perth and the Liturgy. They deposed and excommunicated eight of the bishops, simply deposed four more, and allowed the other two to continue their functions as ordinary ministers. They re-established Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies, and forbade the intrusion of a minister into any parish against the will of the congregation. In short, they firmly settled once more the great principles of the independence of the church as to the state. "There is," it was stated, "a distinction made between civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. All is ecclesiastical, and only ecclesiastical, in the one; and all civil, and only civil, in the other: their very principles and rules are different. In the one, civil laws are the rule, but in the other, the Word of God is the only rule. They are independent of one another in their own jurisdiction; and, as an Assembly cannot prescribe rules to the Parliament in civil matters, no more ought the Parliament to prescribe to the Assembly in ecclesiastical."

It was also settled, that the next General Assembly should meet at Edinburgh on the third Wednesday of July, 1639, in virtue of its own intrinsic powers, whether it should be convened by the king or not.

On the 20th of December, Henderson, after pronouncing the apostolic benediction, declared that noble General Assembly dissolved in these remarkable words: "We have now cast down the walls of Jericho: let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite." Hiel the Bethelite was he who attempted to rebuild Jericho, and this was the curse pronounced upon him, and which Henderson applied to those who would rebuild Prelacy in Scotland: "Cursed be the man before the Lord," said Joshua, "that riseth up and buildeth this city Jericho: he shall lay the foundation thereof in his first-born, and in his youngest son shall he set up the gates of it." An awful malediction, which was registered in heaven, and fulfilled by the destruc-

tion of the Stuarts, from their first-born to the last of their posterity.

The Assembly of 1638 was perhaps the most important that the Church of Scotland had ever held. Presbyterianism was established on its primitive basis. This epoch is, therefore, called in Scottish history, the Second Reformation.

The Marquis of Hamilton seeing all his efforts unavailing, hastily returned to London, where he found the king inflamed with rage. The English, far from supporting their sovereign against the Scots, recognized the spirit of Popery in Charles's proceedings, and began to fear for themselves. One of those great movements which change the destinies of nations was now in preparation; and once more was that ancient prophecy about to be accomplished—"I gave thee a king in mine anger, and took him away in my wrath." (Hosea, xiii. 11.)

The king resolved to march against all those who had subscribed the Covenant; while the Presbyterians, on their side, took up arms (1639). Their camp at Dunse Law, presented a singular spectacle. In some of the tents the singing of psalms was heard; from others, prayers were ascending to heaven; and in others, men were devoutly reading the Scriptures. Before the tent of each captain floated a banner with the Scottish colors, bearing the national arms and this motto —"For Christ's crown and Covenant." Morning and evening the sound of the trumpet called the regiments to their devotions. We shall not describe the political events that ensued; as it is of the church alone that we would speak.

VI.

WAR AND PEACE.

One of the dearest wishes of the Scottish people was to see the same church of Christ in the whole island. With this view, in 1623, the famous Westminster Assembly was held in London, in which were the most eminent men of

England and Scotland met together; and which had for its object to draw up a form of doctrine, of constitution, and of discipline, which should unite all the churches of Great Britain into one body, fitted to glorify the name of Christ, and resist effectually the power of the Papacy. Such was to be the result of the triumph of that Covenant, the signing of which had been commenced upon a tombstone.

There were three parties in this Assembly, the Episcopalians, the Independents, and the Presbyterians, who held a middle course between the former two; and it was necessary, to a certain extent, to conciliate the views of these three parties.

The English Presbyterians even differed from those of Scotland; they were not disposed to grant full rights to the flocks. The ancient Episcopal influence, the fear of independent principles, the view of what the church then was—very imperfect, it is true, in England—occasioned them some scruples in this regard. Nevertheless, it was settled, with respect to the election of ministers, that "the candidate should be sent to the church he was to serve, to preach at three different times, and to converse with the members, that they may have trial of his gifts for their edification, and that they may have an opportunity of being acquainted with his life and conversation; then this congregation is to make known their consent or their objections." Although it was stipulated that the flock was to give its consent, the Scottish Assembly, accepting the draft of that of Westminster, expressly reserved all that might infringe upon the rights, either of presbyteries or congregations, as to the calling of ministers.

The Scottish parliament, which met on the 9th of March, 1649, passed an act, important as manifesting the spirit of the church and people. "Patronages and presentations of kirks," it says, "is an evil and bondage under which the Lord's people, and ministers of this land, have long groaned; it hath no warrant in God's word, but is founded only on

the canon law, and is a custom popish, and was brought into the kirk in time of ignorance and superstition; the same is contrary to the Second Book of Discipline, and unto several acts of General Assemblies; it is prejudicial to the liberty of the people and planting of kirks, and unto the free calling and entry of ministers into their charges." The act then proceeds to annul "all patronages and presentations, whether belonging to the king or to any laic patron, presbyteries, or others within the kingdom;" and enacts, that the places of ministers shall be filled "upon the suit and calling, or with the consent of the congregation, on whom none is to be obtruded against their will."

In July of the same year, the General Assembly passed another act, by virtue of which, if the majority declared that the presentee did not edify, or that they had not confidence in him, the presbytery and the flock were to have a mutual conference, in order to clear up the matter; but it nowhere says that the majority, notwithstanding their opposition, should be constrained to admit the minister,—a constraint which would have been diametrically opposed to the principles so clearly established by the ecclesiastical law of Scotland.

The Scottish parliament sent commissioners to Holland, to negotiate with the young king, Charles II., whose father, Charles I., to the great grief of Scotland, had died on the scaffold. These commissioners found him surrounded by unprincipled and profligate men; and the parliament was, therefore, thinking of recalling its deputies, when Charles arrived in Scotland, and carelessly signed the fundamental laws of the Covenant, which established the liberties both of church and state. "Sir," said the minister Gillespie, "do not subscribe that declaration; no, not for the three kingdoms, if you are not satisfied, in your soul and conscience, beyond all hesitation, of its righteousness."—"Mr. Gillespie, Mr. Gillespie," replied the king, "I am satisfied, I am satisfied, and therefore will subscribe." And he did so. But his political

and religious opinions, and his corrupt heart, his licentious conduct, and hatred of all that was most pious in Scotland were in flagrant opposition to his oaths. By replacing on the throne a Stuart still more despotic, and, above all, more depraved than either his father or his grandfather had been, did not Scotland expose herself to greater dangers? Might not the Covenant be destroyed, the Word of God sealed, Presbyterianism abolished, and Prelacy restored? . . . .

The Scotch have often been blamed for recalling Charles II.; neither can I justify this step, which exposed the three kingdoms to the encroachments of despotism, popery, and immorality. But we should understand the meaning of this transaction. The more decided the Scotch were in denying all supremacy to the throne in spiritual things, the more they thought themselves bound to render a loyal obedience in civil and political matters. The very readiness with which they threw themselves into the arms of a young and profligate despot, shows that the great principle of church independence proceeded from no revolutionary spirit; but, on the contrary, from an unlimited and exclusive subjection to the lawful King of the church, to the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. The Scotch carried their loyalty to an extreme in the spheres both of church and state. Happily, it is impossible to be too faithful to Him who is the King of kings, and to whom pertains the dominion of spirits.

The same thing may be seen in our own days. While Ireland, for whose sake the British government is apparently sacrificing the ancient constitution of Britain, is, notwithstanding in a state of permanent revolt, and can never raise itself from a condition of wretchedness, the causes of which are to be sought in popery itself, and not in any political arrangements; Scotland, on the contrary, whom the same government has treated with a denial of justice which might have caused a whole people to revolt, has never raised an arm; no, not a finger; and has exhibited the astonishing spectacle of an entire nation, which, while agitating, pray-

ing, struggling for its most sacred rights trampled under foot by the powers of the world, has yet remained in order, in submission, and in peace. These are enigmas of which the Gospel alone furnishes the key.

While Scotland was thus imprudently rushing into the arms of Charles II., God was still watching over her. Deliverance was to come from the camp of her neighbors. Hardly had Charles, with perfidious hand, signed the Covenant, when the sounds of approaching war were heard, and the republican army of England, under the command of Cromwell, drew near to Edinburgh.

The Scottish army was defeated by Oliver on the 3rd September, 1650, near Dunbar.

It was necessary to repair this check. Two resolutions were passed at Perth, in December, by virtue of which all the Scotch might be called to arms,—even those who hated the liberties of the church, and were desirous of favoring the despotism of the Stuarts,—the Malignants as they were termed. The strict Presbyterians protested against these resolutions; and thenceforward, in Scotland, those were called Resolutionists, who, although pious men, (Leighton was among their number,) were in favor of the mixture, and for measures seemingly in accordance with the wisdom of the world; and Protesters, those who added to their piety, unshaken principles and great decision of character.

Charles was again obliged to fly to the Continent; and Cromwell, the conqueror of Scotland, intrusted the pious minister, Gillespie, and some of his colleagues, with the direction of church affairs.

It was then that Scotland reaped the benefits of the Covenant. Piety and freedom reigned throughout the kingdom. The Scots, who anticipated still more fearful struggles, renewed their strength in communion with the Lord, and took courage in his Almighty power. Then followed ten of those years which God grants to his people when He is about to call them to greater conflicts. Blessed is the people—let us

bear this in mind!—blessed is the people of God, when they profit by such hours of grace, when peace neither enfeebles nor corrupts them; and when at the moment of war they are to be found having their loins girt about with truth, and having on the breastplate of righteousness! (Ephes. vi. 14.) During the rule of the Protector, Scotland enjoyed a profound peace. All the vitality of the kingdom seemed to flow into the church. "I verily believe," says the historian Kirkton, "there were more souls converted to Christ in that short period of time than in any other season since the Reformation, though of triple its duration."

But Cromwell was dead; intrigues were again commenced both in Scotland and England for the recall of Charles II.; and on the 29th of May, 1660, that unhappy prince entered London in triumph, bringing with him for that Scotland which had first so loyally welcomed him, nothing but ruin and desolation.

I here conclude the first period of the struggles of the Church of Scotland during the seventeenth century,—an epoch, signalized by important political events, by campaigns and battles. These I have almost entirely passed over in silence, because I have been especially desirous of recalling what may be instructive to the Church of God.

There were in Scotland fighting men, but there was a still greater number of praying, loving, long-suffering men. This is the victory for which the church of our time is called upon to fight.

On emerging from the middle ages, political and spiritual matters were so mixed up together, that it was sometimes impossible not to defend heavenly things with earthly weapons. But for the last three centuries, whatever may be said, a great purification, a great separation, has taken place. See, in Scotland itself, the Free Church of our day! her rights are infringed in the eyes of her adherents; and yet they have not fought; they have sacrificed, prayed, and suffered.

This is the spiritual warfare we are called upon to wage. But who are those among us who profit by the lessons of history? Where are they who, like Rutherford, love the salutary mixture of grace with the most bitter trials?—who rise at midnight to pray for hours like John Welsh?—who, like him, rush between fighting men to make peace?—and who, like Livingston, have seen in one day, five hundred or a thousand turned to God by their zeal and faithfulness? Where are they who know, as these men did, that Jesus reigns; that His kingdom is in this world the greatest of realities; that there is no other whom we must obey; and that we should be ready, rather than bow the head under a foreign yoke, to go even into prison or to banishment?

Oh! how little are we. Alas! our faith is often a pictured Christianity, but no reality. We must profit by the lessons of history. God has set before us things which, as St. Paul says, are ensamples unto us. "Take heed how ye hear."

CHAPTER VII.

SCOTTISH STRUGGLES.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. PRELACY OF LAUD.

Second Period. 1660 *to* 1700.

1. Individualism and Catholicism. Babylonish Captivity. 23d August 1660. Middleton and his Parliament. Martyrdom of Argyle. Of Guthrie. Of Govan.—2. Act of 1662. The Four Prelates. Order to the Ministers. Journey and Banquets. Act of Glasgow. Resolution of the Ministers. The last Sunday. John Welsh. Blackadder. Peden.—3. Delay granted. The Curates. Their Arrival. Horse and Foot. Before and After. Co-operation of the Curates and the Garrisons. Soldier-judges. A Military Expedition.—4. Middleton dismissed. Drag-net Act. High Commission Court. Pentland. Execution of M'Kail. First Indulgence. Act of 1669. Second Indulgence and Blair. Retirement of Leighton.—5. Presbyterian Conventicles. Cameron. The Duke of York. Spreul. Scarcity of the Word. Excommunication by Cargill. The Duke of Rothes.—6. Testimony of Marion Harvey. Death of Cargill. The Killing Time. Declaration of 1684. The Sea and Margaret Wilson. John Brown and Claverhouse. General Persecution.—7. Designs of James II. Peden's Wanderings. Act of Toleration. The last Martyr. The Pope's Godson. Revolution of 1688. Restoration of Presbyterianism and Abolition of Patronage. Communion of Saints. New Period and New Arms.

I.

THE FIRST MARTYRS.

THERE are in Christianity two essential elements: the first is individualism; the second is universalism.

The most important of these is individualism. It is indispensable that the individual, that *you* and *I* should be

Christians. I must address myself to obtain Christ and his Spirit as if there were nothing but Him and me in the world.

The second is universalism, which I should call catholicism, if that word had not obtained a very different acceptation. It is necessary that the individual having become a Christian by the operation of the Holy Spirit should enter into the communion of saints, knowing that "we are many members, but one body."

Protestantism has more especially imposed on herself the work of individualism, while Popery, neglecting the individual point of view of Christianity appeared (though falsely) to cultivate more carefully the universal and catholic side.

If we, as Protestants, are the true individualists, we ought also to be the true catholics. And if this side of Christianity is too much neglected among us, it is the duty of the minister of the Word to bring it more powerfully before the mind. No, there is not here merely one soul, and there another redeemed by the blood of the Lamb. There is an assembly of souls; there is a church. There are not many members merely,—there is one body.

In continuing to lay before you some portions of the church's history, one of my objects is, with God's assistance, to render more vivid among us the idea of Christian community. I do not think we can be edified in speaking merely of the work of Christian individualism. We must never cease to remember that we are only different members placed under the same head,—a Head which is in heaven; and the history of those who have faithfully realized this notion must surely afford us salutary edification.

The second captivity of the Scottish church is about to commence, lasting from 1660 to 1688, that is for twenty-eight years. Twenty-eight years are usually assigned to the former, from 1610 to 1638; but thirty-eight may well be allowed for it. These two dismal periods were those of the captivity of the church under the rule of the state, by means

of Laud's Prelacy; and Scotland has good reason for calling this time of mourning and suffering the Babylonish captivity.

Never, perhaps, has any church been called upon to maintain a more desperate conflict against state supremacy. The civil power was about to take up those weapons with which it hoped to subdue the church, and such weapons, we must remember, as have not been exclusively confined to the seventeenth century. Breaking into houses, violence, blows, interdiction of worship, scattering of families, imprisonment, fines, scourging, torture, banishment, drowning, the sword and the gallows,—none of these were to be spared by those Pharaohs who would crush the people of God, whether in Egypt, in Scotland, in Switzerland, or elsewhere.

Were there even no other pages of Scottish history but those to which we have now to turn, we could understand why that country should consider the liberty of the church as the ark of the Lord, the keeping of which has been intrusted to her; and why, as soon as the state annihilates that liberty, the church exclaims in anguish, "Ichabod! the glory is departed from Israel, for the ark of God is taken!"

On the 23d August, 1660, ten ministers and two elders were joining in prayer at a house in Edinburgh, belonging to Robert Simpson. Scotland was apprehensive of the storm about to burst upon her, and these pious men proposed presenting to King Charles II. an humble address, congratulating him on his restoration, reminding him of the covenant with the Lord which he had signed, and praying that his reign might be like those of David, Solomon, and Jehoshaphat. They intended sending round this address for the signature of their brethren; but on a sudden a party of soldiers entered, seized their papers, and conveyed them all to prison, which one of them, James Guthrie, never left but for the scaffold. "The enemy shall come in like a flood, but the Spirit of the Lord shall lift up a standard against him." (Isa. lix. 19.)

The Earl of Middleton, a soldier of fortune, a coarse and

haughty man, had been placed by Charles as Lord High Commissioner, at the head of the Scottish government. He immediately called a parliament, of which the majority was composed of Malignants, that is, "lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God," (2 Tim. iii. 4,) and opposed to the independence of the church. Bishop Burnet states that "those about the Earl of Middleton often continued drinking through the whole night till the next morning, and they came to parliament reeling" Given up to debauchery during the night, they devoted themselves to despotism during thy day.

This parliament repealed and rescinded all the acts passed since 1633, that is to say, it annihilated the liberties of the state and of the church. A new act then announced his majesty's intention of establishing the church in a manner "most suitable to monarchical government."

But this was not enough. The enemies of the church are at all times like each other. When King Herod saw the assemblies of the disciples prospering, not only at Jerusalem but at Cæsarea, did he not "stretch forth his hand to vex certain of them, and kill James the brother of John, and proceed further to take Peter also?" Charles would do like Herod. He would strike at the Covenanters, who welcomed him at the time of his exile, and by terrible blows teach the Christian people to bow down their heads, or else to die.

At the head of the Presbyterian party was the Marquis of Argyle, the most illustrious of the Scottish nobles, who in 1650 had taken the principal part in the young king's coronation. Charles II. disliked him, not only because he was unalterably faithful to the cause of the Presbyterian church, but also because he had sometimes rebuked him for his licentious behavior; and because, having broken the promise he had made of marrying this nobleman's daughter, the king hated the father whom he had thus offended. Argyle was condemned to death. On hearing his sentence, this pious Scotchman arose and said: "I had the honor to set the crown upon the king's head, and now he hastens me to a

better crown than his own." The love of God filled his soul with heavenly joy. When the Marchioness and some of his friends exclaimed against the cruelty of his adversaries: "Forbear," he cried, "forbear! they may shut me in where they please, but they cannot shut out God from me." The Marquis foresaw that a fearful storm was about to burst upon Scotland; he therefore said to some of the ministers who were imprisoned with him: "Mind that I tell it you: you who are ministers will either suffer much or sin much." Holy words, which ministers at all times would do well to lay to heart! Argyle was naturally of a timid disposition, but God bestowed upon him great courage. On the day of his death, having dined with several ministers, he retired to his closet to seek Jesus his King. When he returned to the room: "What cheer, my lord?" asked the minister, Hutchinson. "Good cheer, sir, he replied: "The Lord hath again confirmed and said to me from heaven, 'Son, be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee.'" When taking leave of his friends to go to the scaffold, he said to them: "I could die like a Roman, but choose rather to die as a Christian." He said to the multitude: God hath laid engagements upon Scotland; we are tied by covenant to religion and reformation. It is the duty of every Christian to be loyal, yet I think the order of things is to be observed. Religion must not be the cockboat, but the ship; God must have what is His, as well as Cæsar what is his." The Marquis then prayed fervently, and bent his head to the axe of the executioner.

But this was not sufficient. Charles, like Herod, must begin with more than one illustrious head. James Guthrie, minister of Stirling, was prosecuted for refusing to acknowledge the king's competency to judge in church matters, and condemned to die the death of a traitor. "My Lord," said he to his judge, when this was announced to him, "my conscience I cannot submit; but this crazy body and mortal flesh I do submit, to do with it whatsoever you will."

On the day of his execution, Guthrie, full of serenity and

joy, addressed the people from the scaffold. "Jesus Christ," said he, "is my light and my life, my righteousness, my strength, and my salvation, and all my desire; Him, oh! Him, I do with all the strength of my soul commend unto you! Bless him, O my soul! Now let thy servant depart in peace, since mine eyes have seen thy salvation." When a napkin was thrown over his face at the fatal moment, he boldly raised it and exclaimed, "The covenants, the covenants shall yet be Scotland's reviving!"

At the foot of the scaffold stood a soldier, Captain Govan, sentenced to die at the same time as Guthrie. When the martyr had been hanged, the captain's turn came. "It pleased the Lord," said he, "in the fourteenth year of my age to manifest his love to me, and now it is about twenty-four years since, all which time I professed the truth which I suffer for, and bear testimony to at this day. I am not afraid of the cross, it is sweet; otherwise, how durst I look upon the corpse of him who hangs there with courage, and smile upon those sticks and that gibbet as the gates of Heaven. I die confident in the faith of the prophets and apostles, bearing my testimony to the Gospel as it is now preached by an honest ministry. I bear witness with my blood to the persecuted government of this church in General Assemblies, Synods, and Presbyteries." Then drawing a ring from his finger, he gave it to one of his friends who stood beside him on the scaffold, saying: "Take it to my wife, and tell her, 'He died in humble confidence, and found the cross of Christ sweet.'" To some one bidding him "Look up to Christ," he answered: "He looketh down and smileth upon me." When the cord was put round his neck, he said: "Now I am near my last, and I desire to reflect on no man: I would only acquaint you of one thing. The Commissioner and I went out to the fields together for one cause; I have now the cord about my neck, and he is promoted to be his Majesty's Commissioner; yet, for a thousand worlds, I would not change lots with him; praise and

glory be to Christ forever!" He gave the signal and died. He was indeed a valiant captain. "He that ruleth his spirit is better than he that taketh a city."

Other martyrs now followed to the scaffold these three men,—the most illustrious of nobles, the most fervent of pastors, and the most courageous of soldiers.

II.

THE DISRUPTION.

These horrible executions were as the exordium by which it was proposed to introduce the abolition of the freedom of the church. Due warning having thus been given, an act was passed, in 1662, for the restoration of the government of the church by archbishops and bishops. This act had at least the merit of sincerity. It declared that "the ordering and disposal of the external government of the church doth properly belong to his majesty, as an inherent right of the crown, by virtue of his royal prerogative and supremacy in ecclesiastical causes." It was not intimated by this act, that the church was mistaken in asserting her independence; that her claims were new, unheard-of, or monstrous: on the contrary, it acknowledged acts of parliament by which the sole and only power and jurisdiction within this church doth stand in the church, and in the General, Provincial, and Presbyterial Assemblies and Kirk Sessions." But this organization was rescinded and annulled, and archbishops and bishops substituted, who were "to be accountable to his majesty for their administrations."

The theory being thus settled by the right of the strongest, it was necessary to put it in practice, and for this purpose to set up bishops. Four men went from Scotland to seek ordination in London for the successors of Laud. These were Sharp, a cunning, deceitful, and ambitious man, who had been the prime mover of these alarming invasions; Fair-

foul, alike vain and facetious; Hamilton, a weak and unprincipled person; and Robert Leighton, one of the most amiable and pious of men, the author of that admirable Commentary on the First Epistle of St. Peter, which will edify the church to the end of time. It was doubtless hoped that so Christian a man would bring over many minds to the system of Charles II. In all periods, one of the stratagems of the enemies of the Gospel has been to attach to their party some pious and respected individual, whom they use as a bait to draw simple souls within their snares. Yet another reflection presents itself, which we will not keep back. If Leighton was to be found in such ranks, it must be acknowledged that in the most detestable systems and under the most shameful yoke, some candid Christian souls may yet be found.

They began by ordaining, as deacons and priests, those of the four candidates who had only received presbyterian ordination, which they would not recognize; then all four were consecrated bishops, and, after the fashion of Charles II., the day was concluded with a feast, which shocked Leighton's pious feelings. After this, getting into the same coach, the four new prelates set out for Berwick. There Leighton, tired of the conversation of his brethren, and ashamed of their society, left them, and proceeded alone to Edinburgh, unwilling to submit to the degradation of the pompous entry which the rulers had prepared. It was not in such a manner that his Master had entered Jerusalem. Thus, the coach of Prelacy wanted one of its four wheels, and the only good one, when it paraded the streets of the Scottish metropolis. This was enough to make a man forebode that, though it now seemed to be going on pretty smoothly, it would upset before long. Just then it only seemed necessary to whip up the horses smartly; and this the parliament and the privy council hastened to do.

There were at length prelates in Scotland; but there were also ministers—many pious presbyterian ministers—determined to receive from the state no ecclesiastical constitution;

more especially no constitution against their conscience and the laws of their church. A collision between the bishops and the ministers became inevitable; the question was only to which side the victory would incline.

The state proceeded with all speed; and an Act was passed commanding every minister to repair punctually to the diocesan assemblies in which the bishops, whose number had now been increased to ten, were to preside; and declaring seditious all assemblies held by those ministers who would not submit to the prelates. All free meetings for worship or prayer were prohibited in Scotland. Such, in the seventeenth century, was the tyranny of Charles II.

Among Charles's courtiers was the Earl of Lauderdale, a deserter from presbyterianism and from liberty. This nobleman was growing more and more in the king's favor, and threatened to ruin his rival, Middleton. The latter resolved to ward off the blow by redoubling his zeal for enslaving the church. He, therefore, undertook a journey into the western counties, and entered Glasgow attended by nobles, officers, mace-bearers, trumpets, and drums. He was everywhere received with almost kingly honors. The Word of God declares that "a man that transgresseth by wine is a proud man." (Hab. ii. 5.) It forbids bishops, and even deacons, to be given to excess in wine. Nevertheless, during this tour, which was intended to establish the prelatic rule, these sacred commands were quite forgotten. "Such who entertained the commissioner best," says an historian, "had their dining-room, their drinking-room, and sleeping-room, to which the guests were carried when they had lost their senses."—"Woe unto them," saith the prophet, "that continue until night, till wine inflame them!" It was amidst such disgraceful revelry that the ruin of the church was planned.

Middleton, however, had to hear the grievous murmurs of Fairfoul, archbishop of Glasgow. "Notwithstanding the act of parliament," he complained, "not one of the young

ministers entered since 1649 has owned me as a bishop, or attended my diocesan courts. I have only the hatred which attends that office in Scotland, and none of the power. Your grace, therefore, behooves to fall upon some other and more effectual methods, otherwise the new-made bishops will be mere ciphers."—"Propose what you like," said Middleton, "I will heartily fall in with it."—"Let then the council," suggested the prelate, "agree upon an act and proclamation, peremptorily banishing all these ministers from their houses, parishes, and respective presbyteries, betwixt this and the 1st of November next, if they come not in to receive collation and admission from their bishop: and I assure your Grace, that there will not be ten in the diocese who will stand out, and lose their stipend for this cause." Thus spoke the hireling, imagining that all the pastors of Christ's flock were like himself.

The council immediately assembled at Glasgow, on the 1st of October. All the members, except one, Sir James Lockhart, "were so drunk that day," says the English historian Burnet, "that they were not capable of considering any thing that was laid before them." This assembly was therefore termed "the drunken meeting." In vain did Lockhart affirm that the act demanded by the archbishop would throw the whole country into disorder and desolation; nothing is so headstrong and blind as the man who undertakes to persecute the church of God. The act was passed. The council not only struck at the pastors, but also decreed, that whosoever came to hear them, should be punished as frequenters of unlawful conventicles.

A great number of ministers, amounting to nearly four hundred, thus saw themselves placed in the alternative of either submitting, as to spiritual things, to the decrees of the Lord High Commissioner and his council, or of sacrificing their cures, their parishes, perhaps their only means of subsistence, and of removing themselves and their families, in the month of November, with hearts filled with sadness,

and empty purses, in search of some refuge from the severity of the king and of the winter. They were grave men, of energetic temper, whose very appearance commanded respect. They had always been known to be occupied in visiting their parishes, in speaking and praying with their people, and bringing them to a knowledge of the Scriptures. Their ministry had been so blessed, that cottagers and servants might everywhere be met with, able to lead worship, to read and explain the Word, and to pray extempore with great fervor. These servants of God did not hesitate. Thus also, in early times, in the city of Antioch, an attempt was made to subject the faithful to forms and ordinances contrary to the free Gospel of Christ. And though even an apostle, Peter himself, was among those who attempted to bring the Christians under an unlawful yoke, they, with Paul at their head, withstood him to the face. The Scottish Presbyterians did the same. They could not recognize in the state the claims it asserted; they could not, consistently with their consciences, take the oath of canonical obedience to the bishops. They declared that they were willing to obey the law, and quitted all they held dearest in the world. "You demand either our consciences or our lives," said they; "take, then, our lives, our consciences are enough for us."

This had not been expected: it had been thought that but few would be foolish enough to sacrifice their livings for the sake of their faith; and now an immense breach was made in the church, and unheard-of troubles were threatening it. Accordingly, when Middleton received this news at the palace of Holyrood, he burst into a dreadful rage, and not knowing that the just live by faith, exclaimed with blasphemous oaths, "What will these mad fellows do?"

It was the last Sunday of October, 1662, a dreary and dismal day, in which nature herself seemed to sympathize with the sorrow of all hearts. "There was never so sad a Sabbath in Scotland," says an historian. All the ejected ministers that day preached their farewell sermon to their flocks.

In many places, the people were unable to control their feelings,—they wept, sobbed, and cried; so that it might have been taken for the lamentations of a town stormed and sacked by an enemy, or the bitterness felt at the death of a first-born. (Zach. xii. 10.)

This desolation began in the west, but it soon spread to the south and the centre of Scotland, so that a great extent of country was suddenly deprived of comforter, guide, and worship, and left in complete spiritual destitution.

The ministers quitted their much-loved flocks, and most of them repaired northwards, to the Highlands beyond the Tay, exposing themselves, with their wives and children, to all the inclemency of a Scottish winter. Their parishioners long followed them with their prayers; and when, at last, they lost sight of them, they gazed mournfully on those sacred walls which alone remained to them, now no longer echoing to the Word of God.

How many affecting scenes were taking place in the manses of Scotland! Among the pastors was the grandson of John Welsh, called John Welsh, after him. At the time of the ejection he was minister of Irongray. Maxwell was sent to apprehend him. The whole parish came together; men, women, and children clung to him, and followed him to the water of Cluden. Welsh, after prayer, mounted his horse, amidst the sobs and tears of the multitude, and rode quickly away, but many of his people ran after him, rending the air with bitter lamentations.

John Blackadder, of the ancient family of Tulliallan, was minister at Troqueer, near Dumfries. His church was situated on an eminence on the banks of the Nith, commanding an extensive and varied prospect. The minister had risen early to seek communion with the Lord. The atmosphere was heavy and lowering, and a thick fog covered the face of the earth like a gray mantle. Blackadder was pacing his garden with slow and pensive steps: his musings were often disturbed by the sound of the morning bells ringing from the

neighboring parishes. Those sacred accents, which had so often joyfully summoned the faithful to preaching and to prayer, seemed to be tolling the funeral knell of their expiring liberties, and reminded Blackadder and his brethren that they were to prepare to bid a sorrowful farewell to their flocks. He retired to his study, to seek strength for the approaching solemnity. He preached; and, after the sermon, his parishioners expressed their determination to risk their lives in his defence; but he conjured them not to give their enemies occasion to triumph over them. He spent the following week in visiting and comforting his hearers, and left them on the Saturday, being unable to pass another Sunday among them. The next day the soldiers arrived. One of his sons, then a child, has related with great simplicity what then took place. "A party of the king's guard of horse came from Dumfries to Troqueer, to search for and apprehend my father, but found him not, for what occasion I know not: perhaps, because he had overstayed the appointed day which had been fixed for him to remove with his numerous family of little children, ten miles from the parish. So soon as the party entered the close, and came into the house, cursing and swearing, we that were children were frightened out of our little wits and ran up stairs: and when I heard them roaring in the room below, like so many breathing devils, I had the childish curiosity to get down upon my belly, and peep through a hole in the floor above them for to see what monsters of creatures they were; and it seems they were monsters indeed for cruelty; for one of them, perceiving what I was doing, immediately drew his sword and thrust it up where I was peeping, so that the mark of the point was scarce an inch from the hole, though, no thanks to the murdering ruffian, who designed to run it up through my eye. Immediately after we were forced to pack up, bag and baggage, and remove to Glencairn, ten miles from Troqueer. We, who were the children, were put into cadger's creels, where one of us cried out, coming through Dumfries, 'I'm

banisht, I'm banisht!' One happened to ask, 'Who has banisht ye, my bairn? he answered, 'Bite-the-sheep has banisht me.' That was the name the child applied to the bishop."

Alexander Peden had been for three years minister of Newluce. On the day of his solemn departure he preached in the afternoon upon these words: "And now, brethren, I commend you to God, and to the word of his grace." (Acts, xx. 32.) All his hearers were in tears, when he announced to them that they would never see his face again in the flesh. He continued speaking until night. He then left the pulpit, shut it, and, striking on the door three heavy blows, he said thrice: "I arrest thee in the name of my Master; and mayest thou never be opened but by those who enter through Him, who is the true door, as I have done." In fact, none of the curates (as they called the successors of the ejected pastors), or of the indulged ministers, ever entered this pulpit; it remained closed, according to Peden's words, till the Revolution of 1688, when a faithful Presbyterian reopened it.

III.

CURATES AND GARRISONS.

On the 23rd of December the council of state assembled with the president, Middleton, at their head. Sensible of the mistake they had committed, the council consented to farther delay, and continued the ministers who were forced to quit their parishes to the 1st of February, that they might re-enter the national church, and submit to the rule of the bishops. Notwithstanding this adroit manœuvre, the ejections were multiplied, and a still greater number of churches were left without pastors.

This was a sore deprivation to a country so pious as Scotland, and the hatred of the people against the bishops who

had caused this spiritual famine, was greatly increased. The faithful sought how they might supply the places of those beloved pastors. There were, in the country, a few old ministers, whose ordination had taken place at the time when bishops were established in Scotland, and who, having thus obtained episcopal sanction, had not been required to present themselves before the new bishops, and had, therefore, retained their places. Many of these were pious men. People came from distances of twenty miles to hear them. Many also of the ejected ministers were still within reach of their parishioners, who flocked to attend their family worship in such numbers, that it was generally requisite to leave the house and assemble in the open air.

It became necessary however to replace the ejected ministers. "There was a sort of invitation," says the English bishop, Burnet, "sent over the kingdom, like a hue-and-cry, to all persons to accept of benefices. The livings were generally well endowed, and the parsonage-houses were well built, and in good repair. Therefore," continues the bishop, who certainly is a witness not to be doubted, "this drew many worthless persons thither, who had little learning, less piety, and no sort of discretion. The new incumbents, who were put in the place of the ejected preachers, were generally very mean and despicable in all respects. They were the worst preachers I ever heard; they were ignorant to a reproach; and many of them were openly vicious. They were a disgrace to their orders and the sacred functions; and, indeed, were the dregs and refuse of the northern part. Those of them who rose above contempt or scandal, were men of such violent tempers, that they were as much hated as the others were despised." Such is the picture, certainly no flattering one, drawn by Bishop Burnet!

These ministers were generally young men from the Highlands, who had scarcely studied divinity a year; and who, having nothing to live upon, rushed into the vacant benefices, as a shepherd upon the sheep; "but only to shear them,"

says another historian. "Jeroboam," said the Scotch, who were well acquainted with the Bible, "Jeroboam and his sons having cast off the Levites, ordained himself priests for the devils, and for the calves which he had made." (2 Chron. xi. 15.) So many of them came down from the wild parts of Scotland, that a gentleman of that country began to curse the Presbyterian ministers heartily; "for," said he, "since they have been turned out, we cannot have a lad to keep our cows." These new ministers were called *curates*."

The arrival of the curates in the deserted parishes, occasioned scenes still more deplorable than those of the departure of the ministers. In many places they were received with tears and entreaties to go away. In others they were welcomed with reasoning and argument that struck them dumb. Sometimes, also, less patient people had recourse to threats and insults. In some places the tongue of the bell was taken away, that the parishioners might have an excuse for not going to church; in others, they barricaded the doors, so that the curate was forced to climb in at the window. "He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold," said some concerning them, "but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber." (John, x. 1.) On the other hand, the worldly and dissolute of the place, if there were any such, welcomed the curates gladly, and invited them to drink with them; and they frequently became intoxicated in these orgies. This excited so much indignation, that some hot-headed people, and particularly a number of women (who were always among the most zealous of the Presbyterians), proceeded, in several places, to oppose the entrance of the curates by force. But, says Wodrow: "Such who were really serious, mourned in secret, as doves in the valleys."

These receptions gave occasion to severe prosecutions. Many were sentenced to heavy fines, to be scourged or banished to America. At the same time, the privy council, which had been taking lessons from Rome, decreed, that

when a bishop was to settle a curate in a parish where the people were refractory, the bishop and the curate should be accompanied with a hundred horsemen and two hundred foot, of his majesty's guards, to settle by force the pastor of the state; that the said horse and foot should live at free quarters in the parish; or that the parishioners should pay them thirty shillings (Scotch) for each horseman, and twelve for each footman *per diem;* and that these garrisons should suppress by force all free meetings held by the faithful. This was done, in 1663, at Irongray, where Welsh had been minister. Perhaps it was from this that Louis XIV. borrowed the model of his *dragonnades.* In the present day it is not the regular opposition of dragoons that is brought into use, but popular tumult and violence. This, they say, is the age of progress.*

But notwithstanding this coersion, the people, who were better acquainted with the Bible than their ignorant curates, refused to hear the hirelings imposed upon their consciences by the power of the state. Meetings in the open air became more and more frequent. All who were religious, and even respectable, throughout Scotland, were in favor of the banished ministers. I pause for a moment to exhibit two pictures; one may be entitled Before, the other, After.

This is the picture presented by an historian of Scotland before the state undertook the government of the church. "Every parish in Scotland had a minister, every village a school, every family, and, in most places, every person, had a Bible. Most part of ministers did preach thrice a week, and lecture once, to say nothing of catechizing and other pastoral duties. A minister could not be easy himself without some seals of his ministry in the souls of his people, of which there were in this period not a few. One might have lived a good while in many congregations, and rode through much of Scotland, without hearing an oath. You could

* Alluding to what has been going on in the Canton de Vaud since the disruption of 1845.

scarce have lodged in a house where God was not worshipped by singing, reading the Word, and prayer; and the public houses were ready to complain their trade was broke, every body now was become so sober."

Now look upon the other picture, the companion to this, representing the church as administered by Charles II. "Sometimes in the streets of Edinburgh or Glasgow, coarse oaths were heard; this was from the curates. Instances were sadly common of their staggering in the streets and wallowing in the gutters, even in their canonical habits; and this was conformable to Bishop Wishart's preaching publicly, 'that he was not to be reckoned as a drunkard who was now and then overtaken with wine or strong liquor, but he only who made a trade of following after strong liquor.' The vile practices of these people cannot be mentioned, and one of them was executed for murder."

At the same time the lowest of the populace employed themselves in hunting out, not only the conventicles, but even families celebrating domestic worship, and disturbed them by hootings and insults. Women and old men were cruelly beaten, and dragged either to prison or to the church, which was the same thing to them; and hundreds of poor households were dispersed, and reduced to the most frightful misery.

Nevertheless, the curates gave proofs of devotedness and zeal; not, it is true, to their Lord in heaven, but to their own master, Charles II. They made out a list of the members of their congregation, not that they might visit them—this was no business of theirs,—but to facilitate the work of his Majesty's guards. On Sunday, after a very short and spiritless sermon had been delivered, the list was read from the pulpit, and the names of the absent were marked with a cross. The soldiers then made a pastoral visitation, quartered themselves in the houses, and imposed fines on the inhabitants without listening to any excuse. It sometimes happened that poor people, who did attend the church, were

punished because those who had previously occupied their lodgings were marked as absent in the curate's list. "It was our predecessors," said they.—"No matter! what is written is written."

Matters were quickly dispatched. The curate accused whomsoever he pleased to any of the officers, sometimes to a mere private. The soldier acted as judge, heard no witness, pronounced the sentence, and then executed it, managing to put a good round sum in his own pocket. These men, like the locusts of Egypt, covered the face of the country, and devoured its substance.

Sometimes, on the Sunday morning, a great noise would be heard in the village public house; it proceeded from the soldiers, drinking and carousing round the tables. In this village, some good old minister might be living, who, for reasons I have already mentioned, had been allowed to remain at his post without humbling himself to the bishop. Thither the faithful crowded from all quarters, and the church would be filled, which greatly enraged the bishops and their hirelings. All at once the soldiers would rise from table with great tumult, take up their arms, and run to the church door, a sentinel having come to inform them that the service was nearly over. These satellites would then carefully guard all the outlets, and make the congregation pass one by one, like sheep to be counted. "Do you belong to this parish?" asked they of each individual, and insisted on an answer upon oath. All who did not belong to the parish were fined, and robbed of all they had about them. If these poor Scotchmen had no money, "Give me your Bible," cried the soldiers; or else they would take the men's hats and coats, and the women's caps and plaids. The military party then returned to their quarters, laden with spoil, laughing and blaspheming, as if they had been pillaging a town taken by storm.

Sometimes the soldiers did not wait for the end of the service. One party would stand at one door of the church, and

another at the other; a third then entered, interrupted the worship, and sometimes took to prison all who were not parishioners. This they would term a good haul of the drag-net.

IV.

TYRANNY AND INDULGENCES.

At the sight of all these atrocities, a cry of indignation arose so loud, that it even reached England. Lord Lauderdale profited by this opportunity to ruin his rival, Middleton, who had presided over these tyrannical scenes. The king having ordered the suspension of the fines, the avaricious Middleton for some time kept back his Majesty's proclamation. Lauderdale therefore accused him to Charles of having violated the royal prerogative. Middleton hastily repaired to London: his end was approaching; the never-failing punishment of Heaven was about to fall upon him. An old country-woman, seeing him pass by at Coldstream, cried out to him: "Go thy way, go thy way! I tell thee thou shalt never return." Middleton, however, went forward, and the king sent him to Tangier, where he soon after died.

The management of affairs was then intrusted to Lauderdale. He appointed to the Presidency of the Council Lord Tweeddale, whose son had married his daughter, and who exerted a somewhat conciliatory influence; and the Earl of Rothes was named Lord High Commissioner. But the Church of Scotland did not gain by this. The new government passed an act, sentencing whosoever should absent himself from the official worship to a fine equal to a quarter of his income, besides corporal punishment, as should be thought fit. This act was called "The Bishop's Drag-net." But the persecution of the church was not yet severe enough in the eyes of Archbishop Sharp. He thought the privy council was deficient in zeal in the suppression of Presbyte-

rianism, and would have had that sect persecuted to the death. He therefore obtained from the king, in 1664, the re-erection of the Court of High Commission, to which all causes, ecclesiastical and civil, were to be referred, and, in particular, the judgment of the ejected ministers who dared preach, and of the faithful who dared listen to them. The curates became the agents and spies of this inquisitorial tribunal, and Sharp himself attended to the proper working of the machine. The soldiers undertook to lead the parishioners one by one to church, as galley slaves are driven to hard labor, and all were declared guilty of sedition who should give relief to an ejected minister, were he even dying with want. It was a saying of the Archbishop of Glasgow, "The only way to be taken with these *fanatics*," (such was the name bestowed upon them in the proclamations)—"is to starve them out!"*

They soon went even farther than this. On the 13th of November, 1666, four countrymen, who were seeking to avoid the tyranny of this inquisition, were taking refreshments in the village of Darly in Galloway, when they were informed that some soldiers were cruelly maltreating an old man, with the intention of making him pay a ruinous fine. They hastened to the place, and found the victim lying on the ground, bound hand and foot, and the soldiers employed in taking off his clothes, in order to execute the horrible threat they had uttered of stretching him naked on a red-hot grid-iron. At this hideous spectacle, the countrymen uttered a cry, and the soldiers threw themselves on them sword in hand: the troopers were disarmed, and one of their number was wounded. Knowing the danger which menaced these generous men, the people of the neigborhood rose in arms, and others soon joined them. But this sudden flame was speedily quenched in torrents of blood on the Pentland hills.

* The same expression has been also used in our own day, in an official document of the Canton de Vaud.

A few of the Scottish nobles now began to grow weary of these horrors, and to lift up the voice of humanity. An order from the king commanded the army to be disbanded, with the exception of the guards. The bishops and the curates were in consternation; and Burnet, archbishop of Glasgow, (whom we must not confound with the English historian,) exclaimed: "Alas! now that the army is disbanded, the Gospel will go out of my diocese."

Among the preachers who were then persecuted was Hugh M'Kail, a young man of amiable character, handsome person, distinguished talents, and holy life. He was a preacher when the 400 pastors were expelled from their livings; and in preaching he had said, that the church, persecuted in all ages, had always found among its enemies a "Pharaoh on the throne, a Haman in the state, and a Judas in the church." Archbishop Sharp, having heard of this sermon, doubted not that he was the Judas himself, and immediately dispatched a party of soldiers to seize M'Kail; but the latter fled to Holland, where he remained four years. Returning to Scotland in 1665, and finding affairs worse than he had left them, he led a quiet and retired life in his father's house. There, far from the world, he wandered among the hills, the lonely pastures, and the peaceful valleys; and alone, under the canopy of heaven, wept and prayed for his unhappy country. Soon after, the peasantry having taken up arms, as before mentioned, in defence of Presbyterianism, he joined them; but being of a weak constitution, he was unable to endure the fatigue, and soon left them to return to his solitude. He was on his way home, when he was seized by some dragoons at Braid Craigs, and brought to Edinburgh. He was there accused of rebellion; and the council, with the view of extorting information which the free minister was unable to give, sent for the executioner, and announced to the prisoner that he was to undergo the horrible torture of the *boot*. M'Kail persisting in his statement, the executioner placed the young preacher's leg in

this hideous instrument, which was a square wooden box, with movable plates inside. He then inserted a wedge between the frame and the plates, which he proceeded to drive in with a mallet, so as to produce the most excruciating pain. The members of the council who, sitting in their chairs, were coolly watching the horrid spectacle, again summoned M'Kail to make the disclosures they required. It was in vain. Again the heavy mallet descended, and blow after blow followed; the agony became every moment more insupportable, but the heroic martyr still possessed his soul in patience. His flesh was crushed, even to the bone. "If all the joints of my body were in as great torture as that poor leg, I protest before God," said M'Kail, "that I can say no more." The blows recommenced,—the bone itself was crushed,—the martyr fainted; he was carried back to prison, and soon after sentenced to death.

On the evening before his execution, after supper, the preacher began to read the 16th Psalm:—"The Lord himself is the portion of my inheritance, and my cup." "If there is any thing I regret leaving in this world," said he, "it is the reading of the Scriptures." He then said to those around him, who were lamenting his death at so early an age: "My sufferings will do more harm to the prelates, and serve more to the edifying of the people of God, than I could do if I were a minister for twenty years." His life was in Christ, and for him to die was gain. This faithful servant of God ascended the ladder to the scaffold, remarking with serenity: "Each step in this ladder is a degree nearer heaven." The crowd was enormous: every street, every window was filled with sympathizing spectators. Hearing the sobs of the people, he said: "Your work is not to weep, but to pray; and, that ye may know what the ground of my encouragement in this work is, I shall read to you the last chapter of the Bible." He then read the twenty-second chapter of Revelations, and added, "Here you see the glory that is to be revealed to me; a pure river

of the water of life, the throne of God and of the Lamb, his servants that serve Him and that see his face; here is my access to my glory and reward.

After the executioner had put the rope about his neck, M'Kail said: "And now I leave off to speak any more to creatures, and begin my intercourse with God, which shall never be broken off. Farewell, father and mother, friends and relations; farewell meat and drink; farewell sun, moon, and stars! Welcome God and Father; welcome sweet Jesus Christ, the Mediator of the new Covenant; welcome blessed Spirit of grace, the God of all consolation; welcome glory, welcome eternal life, and welcome death!" The soul of the martry was caught up to heaven, the 22d of December, 1666. There is in the words of this sufferer an admirable mixture of the human and divine. When he bids farewell to nature, to his father, to his mother, we seem to hear a hero of antiquity; but when he hails Jesus, and the everlasting glory, we soon recognize the disciple of Christ. We know of no death in which these two elements are so beautifully united.

Executions such as these pleaded powerfully in favor of the church and of liberty. In this martyr was fulfilled the promise of the Word: "Inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings, happy are ye, for the spirit of glory and of God resteth upon you" (1 Peter, iv. 14.); and the persecutors themselves were for an instant alarmed.

Politicians then perceived that some concessions must be made, and that they must endeavor thereby to rend asunder the Presbyterian cause. On the 15th of July, 1669, Tweeddale presented to the council a letter from the king, which was afterwards called the "The First Indulgence." This letter decreed that the privy-council should point out a certain number of the ejected ministers, "whose conduct had been peaceable and orderly," to resume their former places, or, if they were occupied, to be settled in others; that if they would submit to the collation of the bishop, they should also receive the stipend of the parish, but if they would not, they

should only have the manse and glebe; provided always, that they would attend the diocesan meetings held by the prelates.

This was a concession: and accordingly the cruel Sharp hastened to console his friends by saying: "Never fear; I will make this measure a bone of contention to the Presbyterians."

Ten of the ejected ministers were comprehended in the first indulgence, which was afterwards extended to forty-two. All made a sort of protestation against the royal supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, but this precaution proved insufficient. These ministers, who were of the weakest, alleged, as their motive for accepting the indulgence, the advantages of peace, and the liberty they would enjoy of preaching the Gospel. But the result of the measure was to enfeeble and abase the church.

This advantage being gained, they quickly obtained another. A parliament, which met on the 16th of November, 1669, passed an act, legalizing the power of the state over the church (the Cesaropapia) in the most unlimited manner. Burnet thinks that Lauderdale, knowing the papistical opinions of the Duke of York, caused this statue to be enacted, in order that the last of the Stuarts, when he should come to the throne, might establish Popery by a single decree. The parliament declared: "That his Majesty hath the supreme authority and supremacy over all persons, and in all causes ecclesiastical; and that by virtue thereof, the ordering and disposal of the external government and policy of the Church doth properly belong to his Majesty; and his successors may settle, enact, and emit such constitutions, acts, and orders, concerning the administration of the external government of the Church, and the persons employed in the same, and concerning all ecclesiastical meetings, and matters to be proposed and determined therein, as they in their royal wisdom shall see fit." This act was the first

which was annulled in 1690, at the Revolution, as being incompatible with the settlement of church government.

The pious but short-sighted Archbishop Leighton, who still occupied the same place, willing to bring the Presbyterians to Episcopacy by gentle means, obtained, in 1672, a second indulgence; by virtue of which some of the ejected ministers were called upon to serve in a certain parish, without caring for the opinions of the flock in the elections. "My Lord Chancellor," said Blair, taking from his hands the paper which presented him with a call of this kind, "I cannot be so uncivil as to refuse a paper offered me by your lordships; but," he added, as he let it fall, "I can receive no instructions from you for regulating the exercise of my ministry; for if I should receive instructions from you, I should be your ambassador, not the ambassador of Christ." The courageous minister was sent to prison, where he soon after died.

The pious Leighton himself, who had always hoped and expected a more Christian conduct from the state, seeing, on the contrary, that things were going on from bad to worse, gave in his resignation, and retired to a peaceful retreat in England, where he died 1684. Good men may for a time be liable to great mistakes; but the day will at last arrive, when they will understand that it is impossible any longer to be associated with despotism and impiety. "Be not unequally yoked together with unbelievers: what concord hath Christ with Belial?" (2 Cor. vi. 14, 15.)

V.

THE FAINTING OF THE CHURCH.

The Presbyterians, steadfast to their faith, and refusing to connect themselves with the acts of the government and the prelates, often assembled in the fields. Lauderdale waged an incessant warfare against these conventicles, letting loose

upon them the Highlanders, whom he had brought down from their mountains, or raising in other quarters a formidable army, which he paid with the money of the Presbyterians themselves. These meetings, therefore, became less frequent, but also more numerously attended, and more alarming. In order to hold them, a strong position was taken up, sentinels were posted in the vicinity to watch the movements of the enemy, and give the signal for flight, or, if that was impossible, of open resistance. Sometimes the people met in a narrow and solitary valley, sometimes on a wild morass; sometimes by day, sometimes by night. Thus there were in the free open air, as afterwards in the deserts of Languedoc, solemn communions and times of refreshing; discourses which the ministers delivered with so much ardor that it seemed as if their lips had been touched with a live coal from the altar (Isaiah, vi. 6.); and great multitudes experiencing the deepest contrition.

"We offered to the Lord the sacrifice of thanksgiving," says a minister who often assisted at these solemnities, "and sang with a joyful voice to the Rock of our salvation." On a sudden, the sentinels who were keeping guard upon the surrounding heights would give a note of alarm; the singing ceased, the minister descended from the stone which had served him for a pulpit, and the people dispersed, "wandering in deserts, in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth, being destitute, afflicted, tormented." (Heb. xi. 37, 38.)

Soon after the general ejection, a curate had been settled at Falkland. This man had, as precentor and schoolmaster, a native of the place, named Richard Cameron. The latter began to attend the field-meetings of the ejected ministers: he was converted, and left all for the sake of Christ. He fled to Holland, and after studying for some time was ordained to the holy ministry. The Low-Countries were, during the persecution of the latter part of the seventeenth century, what Geneva had been in the days of Knox,—the home and refuge of the children of God. After his ordination, Cameron

returned to Scotland, and immediately associated himself with the strictest Presbyterians (to whom he gave his name), and who distinguished themselves by censuring the conduct of those who, by compliance, seemed to authorize the tyranny of the persecutors. Cameron and his friends boldly declared that they disowned all authority which opposed itself to the Word of God; and, in particular, that they would not acknowledge the usurpations of the king, who assumed ecclesiastical supremacy, attacked the only lawful dominion of Jesus Christ and his Word, and oppressed His subjects.

Cameron was blessed in his ministry. He always preached as if he was never sure of preaching again. On the 22d of July, 1681, happening to be at a place in Ayrshire, called Aird's Moss, he was informed that a party of soldiers were approaching, and that neither he nor his friends could escape. The Presbyterians therefore prepared for resistance. Cameron uttered a short prayer, in which he thrice repeated this simple and pious expression, "Lord, spare the green, and take the ripe!" He beheld the Lord of the harvest approaching with his sickle in his hand, preparing to reap the corn; and entreated him to cut down those ears only which were ready to be carried into the heavenly garner. When he had ended his prayer, Cameron said to his brother, "Come, and let us fight it to the last; for this is the day that I have longed for, and the death I have prayed for, to die fighting against the Lord's avowed enemies; and this is the day we will get the crown." At that moment the royal troops charged the Presbyterians, and Cameron and his brother fell side by side. The enemy were desirous of taking this dreaded minister prisoner, in order to deliver him up to an ignominious death, but they were disappointed. To make amends for this, the dragoons cut off Cameron's head and hands, and carried them to Edinburgh on the point of a halbert. This minister's father was then in prison for the cause of the Gospel. They carried to his dungeon these sad proofs of his son's death, and cruelly asked if he knew them. The old

man took them respectfully, kissed them, and bathing them with his tears, exclaimed, "I know them,—I know them: they are my son's,—my dear son's. Good is the will of the Lord, who cannot wrong me nor mine!" These remains of Cameron were exposed on one of the city gates, the hands placed near the head, and the fingers pointing towards heaven in the attitude of prayer. His headless body was thrown into a grave at Aird's Moss, on a verdant hill, where a plain monumental stone points out the martyr's burial-place. He had experienced the truth of that saying addressed by the Master to an imprudent disciple, who, like Cameron, desired to take up the sword: "All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." (Matt. xxvi. 52.)

All was now tending towards popery. The Duke of York, heir presumptive to the crown, had for some years discontinued communicating at the Lord's Supper, even when bishops administered it: he required the Mass. It was also becoming more and more customary in England, to regard the abjuration of the Gospel, and submission to the Pope, as the proper and fashionable mode of dying. In 1673 the Duke of York married the Princess of Modena, a member of a family devoted to Rome. It was already reported that the Pope had, by a bull, appointed the future bishops of Britain. Papists filled the court. The agitation augmented day by day among the people. "One would have thought," observes a contemporary, "that a dreadful comet had appeared in the sky."

These things must be borne in mind in order to understand the nature of the terrible struggles then going on in Scotland. Although the State and Prelacy were apparently the only oppressors, Popery was hidden behind them.

The resistance to Popery had become so vigorous in England, that it was thought desirable to send the Duke of York for a time to a distance from London. This prince, who afterwards reigned by the title of James II., arrived in Scotland in 1681, the year of Cameron's death, and undertook

the management of public affairs. It was then plainly shown what treatment James had in reserve for England, if he had been allowed to go on as he pleased. His influence in Scotland was marked by increased severity against the evangelical Christians. One of these, a layman named Spreul, was accused before the council over which the prince presided, and frankly confessed his opinions. No sort of calumny was spared at that time against the reformed Christians; and a novelist of great celebrity, who has shown, in his writings, that he was a stranger to the Christian spirit, has in our own day echoed these groundless charges. The justification which Spreul pronounced in the presence of the royal duke may be considered as the justification of all his brethren. "Whereas I am sadly accused to your lordships, as if I were a man of king-killing principles, I declare I would kill no man whatsoever, but upon self-defence, which the law of God and of nature allows. I own the free preaching of the Gospel, whether in the fields or houses, seeing it is written, 'Without faith it is impossible to please God, and faith cometh by hearing.' I also own Jesus Christ as the only Head of his church, and King of saints, and disown all others pretending thereto."

Spreul did still more: he retorted the accusation of regicide principles upon those who had made them. As the Duke of York rose from his throne and said to him, with a frown, "Sir, would you kill the king?" the astonished Christian paused a moment; and then turning towards the Chancellor (he was fearful of offending the Roman Catholic prince, by addressing this answer to him), he replied; "My lord, I bless God I am no Papist. I loathe and abhor all those jesuitical, bloody, and murdering principles: neither my parents, nor the ministers I heard, ever taught me such principles." Spreul was condemned to the torture of the boot. When this instrument was applied most of the nobles and judges present retired, that they might not witness it. This was not the case with the Duke of York, who remained, and

watched his victim's agonies with cruel eyes. The English bishop, Burnet, says, "he looked on all the while with unmoved indifference, and with an attention as if he had been to look upon some curious experiment."*

These cruelties were not without effect. There was a great dearth throughout Scotland. "The Word of the Lord was rare in those days." (1 Sam. iii. 1.) The dragoons scoured the country, and the faithful, "of whom the world was not worthy," were wandering in the deserts.

After the death of Cameron, Donald Cargill was for some time almost the only minister who dared preach in the fields. "The blood-stained banner," says an historian, "which fell from Cameron's dying hand, was caught up and borne aloft by Cargill with unshrinking resolution." He preached boldly to his countrymen Jesus Christ crucified. Perhaps he went too far. Persecution generally excites the persecuted; and the persecutors and the worldly-minded then coldly and meanly reproach them with their excitement. Cargill, the only representative of the Scottish Presbyterianism, as if he himself had been a whole synod, a whole general assembly, filled with horror at the persecutions of his people and his faith, at a field-preaching at Torwood, in Stirlingshire (September 1680), solemnly pronounced sentence of excommunication against the king, his brother, the Papist Duke of York, and five of the chief lords who oppressed Scotland, among whom was the Duke of Rothes. This sentence, after all, signified but little. The king and his brother cared not for the Presbyterian communion, and greatly preferred that of the Pope. Yet, however exaggerated Cargill's proceedings may have been, we cannot help acknowledging in them great courage and fidelity.

He had spoken out. As a "watchman of the house of Israel," he had "warned the wicked from his evil way," (Ezek. iii. 18.); and it was not wholly in vain. The Duke of Rothes, one of the excommunicated, having fallen danger-

* Burnet's Own Times, ii. p. 424.

ously ill a few months afterwards, sent for some Presbyterian ministers. The Word pronounced in the wilderness of Stirlingshire, like that which was uttered in the wilderness of Judea by the prophet in the raiment of camel's hair, with the leathern girdle, weighed upon the consciences of the rulers of the people. "We all thought little of what that man did in excommunicating us," said the dying duke, "but I find that sentence binding upon me now, and it will, I fear, bind me to all eternity." One of the evangelical ministers, moved with compassion for the sinner, who had so long, as Lord High Commissioner, been at the head of the persecution of his people, then declared to the agonized and terrified duke, the expiation of the blood of the Lamb, "which cleanseth from all sin," and fervently prayed for repentance and faith for the dying nobleman. In the adjoining room were several lords and bishops. Hearing the voice of prayer, they broke off their conversation, and there was a moment of silence. They were astonished: "That is a Presbyterian minister praying," said one of the noblemen; and then, turning to the bishops, he added: "there is not one of you can pray as they do, though the welfare of a man's soul should depend upon it."—"We banish these men from us,"—said the Duke of Hamilton, "and yet, when dying, we call for them." Happy is the persecutor and blasphemer who, like the royal commissioner, calls for the Word of God; or, rather, whom the Word of God seeks out, were it even at the eleventh hour!

VI.

THE KILLING TIME.

No king ever had ministers and servants so ready to sacrifice their lives for him, as Jesus Christ had, at that time, in Scotland. No crown was ever so steadfastly upheld by its subjects.

The persecution was not confined to the ministers only, but extended also to their hearers, and even to women. Two young persons, Isabel Alison and Marion Harvie, were accused of having been present at Cargill's field preachings. Marion was a young girl of twenty. "At fourteen or fifteen," she said to her judge, "I was a hearer of the curates, and then I was a blasphemer, and a chapter of the Bible was a burden to me."—"I bless God, Isabel," she remarked to her friend, "that He has given me life that I may lay it down for his name's sake. If I could live a thousand years by forsaking the truths of the Gospel, I would not give up one." When led to the scaffold, these two Christian maidens sang the 23d Psalm, "The Lord is my Shepherd;" and the 84th—

> "How lovely is thy dwelling place,
> O Lord of Hosts, to me;
> My very heart and flesh cry out,
> O living God, for thee!"

When about to be executed, Marion Harvie, wishing to testify what was the faith for which she was to lay down her life—the doctrine of the true Head of the church—exclaimed: "I am brought hither this day for having confessed, as I still do, that Jesus Christ is the King of Sion, and the Head of his people!" After this she died, on the 26th of January, 1681. Thus did country girls in Scotland feel themselves called upon to maintain the same truth as the doctors and leaders of the flocks.

A more noted victim was now to fall by this persecution. Cargill, hunted from place to place, was still preaching in the most secluded districts. For this purpose he often had to take long and painful journeys. One Sunday, having walked all the morning to reach the place where the people were to assemble at Tinto Hill, he arrived fatigued, thirsty, and almost fainting. An old man, coming from the crowd, offered him, in his blue bonnet, a little cold water from a

neighboring spring. The minister drank it, and, without any other refreshment, preached the whole day. On the 10th of July he proclaimed the Gospel at Dunsyre Common, and slept at Covington Mill. But his enemies were on the watch. At daybreak a troop of dragoons surrounded the mill, seized the preacher, and carried him to Edinburgh, where, being led before the council, he was condemned to death. "I am," said he, "a Christian, a Protestant, a Presbyterian; and I die testifying against Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, and all manner of defection from the truth of God." When led to the scaffold, he approached the cord by which he was to be hanged, and declared that he went up the ladder with less fear and perturbation of mind than ever he entered the pulpit to preach the Word of God to sinners. "I am no more terrified at death, nor afraid of hell, because of sin, than if I had never had sin; for all my sins are freely pardoned and washed away, through the precious blood and intercession of Jesus Christ." Sweet Christian words! It was on the 27th of July, 1681, that he sealed with his blood the testimony he had borne to Jesus, the only King of the Church.

Cargill was no more. There was now no one left who preached in the fields. "The wise men had rejected the Word of the Lord," (Jer. viii. 9.) The persecution therefore ceased for a while, but in 1684 began the sanguinary period called, in Scotland, "the killing time;" and, in 1685, the Papist, James II., having succeeded his brother Charles, the desolation of the people of God increased yet more and more. They were hunted like wild beasts among moors, mountains, and rugged rocks. In vain they passed the night, lying on wild heaths, under the vault of heaven, or cooped up in the natural caverns among the rocks; no retreat was sufficiently secure, sufficiently retired, to shelter them from the cruel search of their enemies. Everywhere they encountered spies, betrayers, and murderers. The enemy said, as once did Pharaoh, "I will pursue, I will overtake, I

will divide the spoil; my lust shall be satisfied upon them; I will draw my sword, my hand shall destroy them." (Exod. xv. 9.)

Driven to the utmost extremity, these unhappy people raised a cry of distress. "Did not the Lord," thought they, "blow with his wind against the enemies of his chosen ones, and they sank as lead in the mighty waters?" On the 18th October, 1684, they posted up in many of the market-places of Scotland a solemn declaration, recounting their sufferings, and expressing their abhorrence of the principle by which it was thought right to put to death those who differed in opinion from their murderers; and declaring, that for the sake of their own defence, they reputed as enemies, and would pursue as such, whosoever should proceed against them, especially as spies and informers.

The curates and their vile emissaries then relented a little in their proceedings; but the privy council, incensed to the last degree, passed on the 22d of November, "The Bloody Act," by virtue of which, whosoever would not disown this declaration should immediately be put to death.

The persecution then raged more violently than ever. One day, two women, Margaret M'Lauchlan, a widow of sixty-three, and Margaret Wilson, a girl of eighteen, were praying together at Wigton, in Galloway. Margaret Wilson, her brother Thomas, aged sixteen, and her sister Agnes, aged thirteen, had been obliged to leave their father's farm to avoid submission to the prelates, and had concealed themselves for some time in the moors. They had left these wilds, and taken refuge with the widow M'Lauchlan, when they were apprehended while committing the crime of praying. The old woman and the young girl were tried and condemned to death, and for their execution a torture of a special kind was chosen. Near Blednock, two large stakes were driven into the sea, a few paces from the shore; and at low water the two women were tied to them, care being taken to place the young girl higher than the widow, that she might

perish the last, and thus witness the death of her aged friend. When this was done, the soldiers stood on the shore, carelessly leaning on their halberts, and surrounded by a great crowd of people, waiting until the rising tide, that new executioner of the vengeance of the prelates and the privy council, should slowly ingulf these sainted victims. Soon, indeed, did the waves roll onwards, and, in the sight of the young girl, they slowly but inevitably rose and covered the body of the Christian widow. One after another they covered her limbs, her bosom, her neck, her lips. By this means it was intended to terrify Margaret Wilson, and subdue her. But, looking serenely upon her venerable friend, she exclaimed, "What do I see but Christ in one of his members, wrestling there? Think you that we are the sufferers? No: it is Christ in us; for He sends none a warfare on their own charges." The Christian maiden thus continued praying and witnessing for Christ, while the cold and cruel waves were rising round her own body. She then began to sing the 25th Psalm, "To thee I lift my soul, O Lord;" and afterwards part of the eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, "Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth. Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died;" and some verses following. She thus continued speaking until the ocean covered her head and choked her utterance. Her torturers then ran towards her, and, while she was yet breathing, cut the cords, and drew the young Scoth girl from the waves. They laid her on the shore, and waited till she was restored to consciousness. On being asked if she would not pray for the king, she replied: "I wish the salvation of all men, and the damnation of none."—"Dear Margaret," cried one of the spectators with emotion, "only say, God save the king!" She answered calmly, as one who neither wished for life nor feared death: "God save him, if He will, for it is his salvation I desire." Her relations and friends, in a transport of joy, turned quickly to Major Windram, who superintended

the execution, "Oh, Sir, she has said it, she has said it!" But the major required her to take the abjuration oath, in which the papist, James II., was to be acknowledged as the head of the church. Firm in her faith, she replied: "I will not. I am one of Christ's children. Let me go!" The soldiers again threw her into the sea, where she perished, and entered, at last, into the rest that remaineth to the people of God.

But this was not the end. Persecution sought out the most sober Christians. At Priesthill, in Ayrshire, lived a plain and pious man, John Brown by name, who earned his living by the occupation of a carrier. Although he had never openly resisted the state, he was hated by the prelatic party, on account of his attachment to evangelical principles. His solitary cottage had sometimes sheltered a persecuted minister; he did not attend the service of the curates; and on Sunday evening he would assemble a few children to instruct them in the knowledge of the Bible. This school, in that lonely part of Scotland, was the first of the Sunday schools in Britain, and perhaps in the evangelical world. Brown had preceded Raikes.

Claverhouse, whom Walter Scott has transformed into a hero, but who in history is nothing but a man of violence and a persecutor, seeing the fidelity of this Christian, vowed his destruction. On the 1st of May, 1685, Brown having just celebrated domestic worship, between six and seven in the morning, was on his way to work, when three troops of dragoons came galloping towards him, with Claverhouse at their head. They brought him back to his house, saying to him: "Go to your prayers, for you shall immediately die." He knelt down upon the heath, and prayed aloud with so much fervor that the soldiers were quite affected. Thrice did the impatient Claverhouse interrupt him, saying: "I gave you time to pray, and ye have begun to preach." During this interval, Brown's wife, hearing a noise, had come out of her cottage, carrying an infant in her arms, and a little girl,

frightened at the sight of the soldiers, clinging to her gown. "Take good night of your wife and children," said Claverhouse. Turning to his wife, he said: "Now, Isabel, the day is come that I told you would come, when I spake first to you of marrying me." "Indeed, John," she answered, "in this cause I am willing to part with you." Brown then kissed his wife and children, and Claverhouse commanded his troopers to fire. But the martyr's prayers had touched the hard hearts of the soldiers of the papist James: they refused to act the part of executioners, to which, however, they were well accustomed. Walter Scott's hero, enraged at this, took a pistol from his saddle-bow, and at once shot dead the disciple of Jesus. Then turning to her whom he had just made a widow, he said, in a tone of mockery: "What thinkest thou of thy husband now, woman?" Isabel replied, "I ever thought much of him, and more now than ever." Claverhouse set spurs to his horse, and the horror-struck dragoons galloped off after him, leaving Isabel alone with the corpse. She laid her infant on the ground, gathered the scattered brains of her beloved husband, and taking the handkerchief from her neck, bound up the head, which had been shattered to pieces by the Jacobite's pistol. Then laying out his lifeless body, she covered it with her plaid, and sat down beside it, with her baby on her lap; and clasping in her arms the little girl, who filled the air with her cries, she herself burst into tears. On that desert spot, there was not a neighbor, not a friend to assuage the widow's sorrows. Amidst this desolation of the wild heath and of death, she had none with her but her God; but He was a present God, and his might gave strength to her heart.

Claverhouse, yet breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord," (Acts ix. 1,) overran other countries. Persecution was raging everywhere. If the soldiers found a man reading the Word in the fields: "Thou art a rebel," said they: "thou art reading the Bible!" and thereupon they killed him. They threatened little children

that they would roast them alive, to make them tell where their parents were concealed. Four hundred and ninety-eight Christians thus perished without form of law. Eighteen hundred had to endure torture of different kinds. Seventeen hundred were banished. Great numbers were sent to the colonies as slaves, and two hundred of these were drowned. But nothing could subdue the fortitude of the martyrs. One of them, who was shot in the fields, exclaimed: "If I had as many lives as hairs on my head, I would willingly suffer as many deaths for the sake of Christ and his cause." "They were tortured, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better resurrection; and others had trial of cruel mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover, of bonds and imprisonment: they wandered about, destitute, afflicted, tormented. Yet they ran with patience the race set before them, looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of their faith." (Heb. xi. 35, 36; xii. 1, 2.)

The king thought that the country was now prepared for the change he had in view. Regarding the Presbyterian Church as the greatest obstacle to the restoration of Popery, he had directed every effort against it. He imagined, that when once Episcopacy was set up in the place of Presbyterianism, both bishops and church would willingly submit to the Pope. He was mistaken, at least in England. The majority of the English Episcopalians were good Protestants, determined to resist Rome and her hierarchy.

James II., nevertheless, was advancing, step by step, towards Popery. He exempted the Papists from the Test, which was still required from the Presbyterians. He abolished the penalties and disabilities to which the partisans of the Pope had been subjected, (an act which from another prince would have had quite a different meaning,) and uttered in parliament a eulogium on their loyalty, and other virtues.

At the same time (this was in 1686) the revocation of the edict of Nantes was taking place in France, and filling all the

Protestants of Europe with horror at the Papacy. Amidst these agitations, on the 21st of August, the king, in a letter addressed to the privy-council of Scotland, ordered the Popish worship to be set up in the chapel of Holyrood, and appointed the chaplains who were to perform it.

All now seemed prepared for the work of darkness intended by the pontifical sectarian then seated on the throne of Elizabeth. Most of the witnesses for the truth had disappeared. The sword, the gallows, torture, hardships, exile, and the call of God, had swept them from the land. There now remained but a few lights, glimmering here and there through the darkness, which the hand of death was about to quench forever.

The friend of Cameron, that Alexander Peden, who at New Glenluce had shut his pulpit, was still alive. After leaving his church, the pulpit of which remained closed, he had wandered over the wilds of Scotland, but without preaching. From time to time his mouth gave utterance to some mysterious and significant sentences only, which led to his passing for a prophet with many. "Pray much," said he to those who entreated him to preach, "it is only a praying people that will weather the storm. Fearful days are coming on Scotland, and my heart fails me when I think of the judgments about to fall on those hirelings whose words kill the soul. O Scotland, Scotland! must it be that some of thy ministers should consent to take the crown from Christ's head?"

One day Peden went to Aird's Moss; he climbed the hillock on which stood the grave of his friend Richard Cameron; and, exhausted by his sufferings, sat down beside the tomb, clasped his hands over the stone, raised his tearful eyes to heaven, and exclamed repeatedly: "O that I were with thee, Richard!" He groaned, "earnestly desiring to be clothed upon with his house which is from heaven." (2 Cor. v. 2.) After long wandering from place to place, Peden, feeling the time approaching when his "earthly tabernacle

should be dissolved," and he should be transported to "a house eternal in the heavens," returned to his brother's house in his native village, where he caused a cave to be dug, the opening to which was concealed by a thick bush. There he dwelt in prayer and holy meditation. The enemy came many times to seek for him in order to put him to death, and searched the house in vain. "When I am dead," said he, mournfully, "bury me at Aird's Moss, beside Richard, that I may find rest in his grave, for I have had none in my life. However, wheresoever you bury me, I shall rise again." Soon after, he expired, in 1686, the same year in which the Popish worship was set up in the capital by order of the king. Peden, who had closed his own pulpit against error, was not fated to behold it invading the ancient palace of Scotland.

VII.

THE REVOLUTION.

GREAT events were now rapidly hurrying on, and liberty was soon to be restored to the people of God. The perfidious James granted a general toleration, for the twofold purpose of favoring the Papists, and of seeing the Protestant sects devour one another, as he hoped they would, that he might afterwards build up the Church of Rome upon their ruins. The Presbyterian ministers took advantage of this edict to gather together their dispersed congregations. But another cruel blow remained to be struck.

Some of the ministers had refused to accept the royal amnesty. Among these were James Renwick, who was apprehended at Edinburgh on the 1st of February, 1688. His youth (he was only twenty-six years of age), the simplicity of his manners, the beauty of his person, and the candor of his answers, excited in his favor the compassion and respect even of his judges; he was, nevertheless, condemned to death. When asked if he desired any delay, he answered, "It is all

one to me; if it be prolonged it is welcome: my Master's time is the best." On the 17th of February he was led to the scaffold. He was forbidden to pray or to address the people; but refusing to submit to this order, he had hardly opened his mouth when the beating of drums drowned his voice. His friends listening attentively, caught a few words from his lips, which have been handed down to us. "I die," said he, "owning the Word of God as the only rule of faith. I leave my testimony against Popery, Prelacy, and Erastianism; and particularly against all encroachments upon Christ's rights, the Prince of the kings of the earth, who alone must bear the glory of ruling His own kingdom." The martyr was now ordered to ascend the ladder: he did so, saying, Lord, I die in the faith that thou wilt not leave Scotland, but that thou wilt make the blood of thy witnesses to be the seed of thy church. Lord, come quickly!"

In truth, at the very moment that Renwick was resigning his soul to God deliverance was nigh. The pistol of the dragoon was to fall from his cruel hand, the cord of the hangman to be broken; the waves of the sea were no longer to serve as the executioners of the wrath of man, and the mountains of Scotland, instead of echoing to cries of anguish, were to burst forth into the voice of singing. The Lord was about to appear and bring salvation.

On the 10th of June, 1688, the queen, who had borne no children, gave birth to a prince, an event which filled the Papists with joy, and the Protestants with alarm. The crown, which should have descended to Mary, eldest daughter of James, and wife of the Stadtholder, William Prince of Orange-Nassau, the head of the Protestant cause in Europe, was therefore to devolve upon the son of the papistical Stuart. The child was baptized with great pomp, and had for his godfather—the Pope! This was full of meaning. The Pope, in the opinion of James, ought to be the godfather of all England.

But on the 5th of November, 1688, William of Orange,

whom the people had invoked as their liberator, arrived on the coast of Devonshire, the English colors flying from his mast-head, with this inscription: "The Protestant Religion, and Liberties of England;" and beneath it the motto of the Nassaus: "Je maintiendrai."

Meanwhile the proclamations of the English leaders demanded the maintenance of Protestantism and a free parliament; calling James a tyrant, and, as such, to be opposed with all lawful resistance.

On the evening of the 9th, the queen fled in disguise with the young prince, his nurse, and two other persons; and crossed the Thames in an open boat, exposed to cold, wind, and rain, and fearing every moment to be discovered, before she could reach the ship which was to convey her to France.

On the 11th, the king also fled, throwing the great seal of the kingdom into the river; and the Pope's nuncio also escaped, disguised as a footman, sitting on the coach-box of a foreign ambassador. James, unfortunately arrested by some fishermen, just as he was on the point of leaving the English coast, was brought back to London, whence he was transferred to Rochester. Finding the garden door which led to the river purposely left open, he again fled at midnight, on the 23d of December. He landed, after a stormy passage, which lasted two days, at Ambleteuse, in France, and hastened to the royal castle of St. Germains, near Paris, to throw himself into the arms of the persecutor of the French Protestants. This was the end of the power which had intended to re-establish in Great Britain the odious yoke of the Papacy.

The throne, declared vacant by the parliament, was given to William and Mary. Scotland assented to this resolution, by a declaration in April, 1689, which at the same time abolished Prelacy as the cause of the grievances of the country. On the 25th of April, 1690, the Scottish parliament, after annulling the act which ascribed supremacy to the king in ecclesiastical matters, restored to their long destitute flocks

those Presbyterian ministers who were still alive, and who had been driven from them ever since the 1st of January, 1661. The Westminster Confession was ratified soon afterwards, and the Presbyterian constitution declared to be the government of the Church of Christ in Scotland, as being agreeable to the Word of God, and most conducive to the advancement of true piety and godliness, and the establishing of peace."

They went even further; and this act is particularly worthy of notice, as enabling us to understand the history of the present. On the 19th of July, 1690, the parliament again annulled patronage, which had already been abolished in 1649, as illegal and contrary to the Word of God and to the liberties of the church. The highest authority of the nation annihilated that privilege which had always been odious to the Scottish people,—the privilege of the landlords to present ministers to the vacant churches. It declared the nomination of the pastors to belong to the elders and the Protestant heritors of the parish, who are to propose the person to the whole congregation; and added that the latter, in case of refusal, should state their reasons to the presbytery. A compensation was assigned to the patrons. At length, on the 16th of October, 1690, after an illegal interruption of nearly forty years, the General Assembly was convened.

The Church of Scotland was now once more in possession of all those liberties for which she had so long groaned, and a period of peace and prosperity, of independence and life, was opening before her. "The Lord shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people: and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. O house of Jacob, come ye, and let us walk in the light of the Lord." (Isaiah, ii. 4, 5.)

In looking back to the commencement of the period we have now surveyed, no one can have failed to remark, that

certain points of resemblance are to be found between the Scottish struggles we have just recounted, and those other struggles which have taken place, and which are still in progress on the shores of our fair lake of Geneva. I will not enlarge upon this subject. I acknowledge the conflicts of Scotland to have been more sanguinary, more terrible, and more illustrious through the faith of her martyrs. They took place in the seventeenth century, not in the nineteenth.

I will only indicate one point of resemblance between the struggles of Scotland and those of Vaud. In both we do not behold individual combats, but one great warfare of the persecuted church against her oppressors. Both churches look up to the King of all his people. It is the sovereignty of Christ which both have set up, against the illegal encroachments of the civil power. At the feet of Jesus, their King, our brethren of 1662, as well as our brethren of 1845, laid down the sacrifice of their livings, of their parishes, and sometimes even of the whole means which they possessed of feeding their little ones.

Thus, then, in the hour of suffering, the Church feels her unity, and worships the kingship of her Head. But will she feel this unity, will she worship this kingship only in distress? Must the wicked deprive us of the Word of God; must they drive the ministers from their pulpits, and shut the church doors against the faithful, to enable them to perceive that they are one body, and in order that the feeling of brotherhood which unites all together, and joins all to the Head, should be living and present in every heart?

Although the rod of God has not yet dispersed us, let us remember that the Christian church is truly one body; that in the fellowship of the saints lay the prosperity of the Primitive Church; and that it alone can cause our own to flourish. Let us be members organically united to one another under the same head, and let the communion we celebrate in our assemblies be no hypocritical ceremony. Let the church be not a mere school in which a doctor instructs;

but, also, a true society of disciples: and let the new members of the church feel, when they confess their faith, that they are entering a living and eternal community.

Never, perhaps, has the doctrine of a sole and living church, the doctrine of a single and heavenly head to which all members must belong, been more powerfully realized than in Scotland during the years of her sad tribulations. There men died for Jesus, the only Head and King of the church, as in other times and in other countries they died for Jesus, the only God, the only Sacrifice, and the only Intercessor.

Doubtless, we do not mean to justify all that the Scottish Presbyterians did to maintain or to regain religious freedom. We must remember what was said at Geneva, by one of our doctors, in a thesis maintained in the eighteenth century, when a Roman Catholic brought forward the accusation of the death of Servetus. "That," he replied, "was one of the remnants of Popery." Though, as to the doctrine, the Reformation, at its first step, rejected the whole of Popery; it might, nevertheless, with regard to certain points of ecclesiastical policy, not have so clear and so quick an eye. These are matters on which we become enlightened by degrees.

But we have now entered on a new period, in which I firmly believe that Evangelical Christianity is to be propagated, and even defended, by spiritual weapons alone. Scotland in 1833 and 1843 did not combat like the Scotland of 1660 and 1688. She deprecated every idea of resistance and revolution. No more scaffolds, no more battles! We shall have no more really religious wars; and should there yet be struggles called by that name, religion will only be the pretext, while state-policy will be the real motive. This is the case in Switzerland.

In this new period the weapons of Evangelical Christians must be purely spiritual, and thus "mighty through God." "Old things are passed away; behold, all things are become

new." It is not only men and warriors who are to wrestle in this new conflict; it is the women, the children, the aged. To all, whosoever you may be, Scotland has set an example.

In the Christian warfare the weakest may take part, for it is not with men alone that the believer fights, even when it is with men that he has to deal. "We wrestle not against flesh and blood," says St. Paul; "but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places." Now, it is not by the sword, or by the scaffold, that such enemies are to be overcome. "This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith." When faith, truth, and charity, do not combat, the conflict is but a human uproar: the field of battle is the kingdom of darkness. When the Christian wrestles, it is of little consequence whether he obtain the victory over men; there is no real victory unless he triumph over the powers of hell. The true battles of Scotland were not those in which standards, muskets, and swords were to be seen; they were those faithful confesssions, those courageous and Christian deaths of which we have quoted a few examples. By these were the oppressors brought down.

My brethren, be ye also ready. Think not that because we live in other times, because we possess religious liberty, we are not called upon to combat like the generous witnesses of whom we have spoken. May this cloud of witnesses which we have caused to pass before your view, not leave you idle and fruitless! We summon you boldly to a battle, and this battle is an every-day conflict, although there are some periods in which it becomes more fearful. May the weapons of the Christian be always at hand; always at your side; nay, always within your hearts! You know Saint Paul's arsenal (Eph. vi.); fly to that store-house, and provide yourselves with arms.

May "your loins be girt about with truth"—that moral truth, that sincerity, that simplicity of intention which faith in Christ creates in the heart, and which is the true adorn-

ment of the believer! May you "have on the breastplate of righteousness"—that righteousness which proceeds from faith, and in which the Christian is invulnerable; for it is a righteousness proceeding, not from the sentiments of his own heart, but from the grace of God, who is greater than our hearts. Have "your feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace;" for to wrestle against darkness we must possess the courage which comes from the good tidings of our own peace with God. He who is still under condemnation, who is still lying in darkness, cannot wrestle with the powers of darkness, for he is their bondman. But whosoever is carried into the kingdom of the Son, finds, in peace with God, all the strength which he needs to prevail against hell; of this we have just seen many examples. Let us add to all these weapons, the "shield of faith" in the promises of God, so fit to cover us; "the helmet of the assurance of salvation;" "the Word," which is more powerful than a two-edged sword; and, above all things, "prayer."

Such is the armor of the Christian, according to St. Paul, and I lay it before you. These arms are better than those Cameron held in his hand when he died. Honor be to those men of old time! but let us discern our new times, and the call of God to the present generation. Alas! it is not conflicts, not wrestlings that are now wanting. There are such in the nineteeenth century, as in the seventeenth, and as in the first. What is wanting is fidelity—is victory. May faith, may triumph never fail us more! I speak of the triumph of faith; of that triumph which is obtained even when all human hopes are disappointed.

But does not the result which God bestowed upon the struggles of Scotland, remind us that He is sometimes pleased to bestow other results and other deliverances? What a manifestation of God's power, was that rapid fall of James II., and that arrival of William on the shores of Britain, with these words upon his banner,—"The Protestant

religion and liberties of England!" Let us with united hearts boldly resist the present efforts of Popery and infidelity, and the tyranny of powerful men. Let us not be afraid because we are weak. Most wonderful is the power of little things in the kingdom of nature and in the kingdom of grace. An insect almost too minute for observation constructs those coral reefs of the Southern Ocean, against which the heedless vessel strikes and is lost, and those islands where the wearied mariner seeks a refuge from the storm. A Christian gentleman of France* has recently called to recollection an ancient Swiss coin, representing a man leaning on a long two-handed sword, with the device—DEUS PROVIDEBIT. "Admirable emblem!" adds this pious nobleman; "man is armed for the combat, and God will provide!" To throw away the sword, and wait for God alone, is to neglect one of the conditions of victory. To forget God, and reckon upon one's own sword alone, is to neglect the other condition of success. Let us obliterate neither the armed man nor the device. Let us grasp the sword of the Spirit, and fight our best; and let us implore that blessing without which all human efforts are vain. *God will provide.* "Say among the nations, the Lord reigneth: the Lord reigneth, let the people tremble; the Lord reigneth, let the earth rejoice."

* Count Agenor de Gasparin.

CHAPTER VIII

SCOTTISH STRUGGLES.

EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES.

Patronage. 1700 *to* 1843.

1. Awakening and Sleep. Union of England and Scotland. Fundamental Condition. The Jacobites and the Pretender. The Jacobites restore Patronage. Alarm of Scotland. An old Iniquity.—2. Worldliness and Arminianism in the Church. Protesting for Seventy-two Years. Moderatism. Ebenezer Erskine. Robertson and his Times. Thomas Gillespie. Military Intrusions. Nigg. A solemn Appeal. Unitarianism enters the Church.—3. Transition. French Revolution. Missions. The Chalmers' Period begins. His First Motion in 1833. Increase of Evangelical Ministers. The Veto in 1834. Two Solutions. A Falsehood in the Church. Another Way. Sufferings of the Church. Pastoral Relationship. Argument of Chalmers. An Ignorant Christian. Politicians at first favor the Veto. Its Effects.—4. A strong Opposition formed. Auchterarder and Mr. Young. An Enormity. Marnoch and Mr. Edwards. Dr. Candlish's Motion. The Sword drawn. Revivals. Edwards settled at Marnoch. The Congregation withdraws. Feelings of Scotland.—5. Dr. Buchanan's Motion. Petitions. Decision of the Moderate Party. 25th August. Diplomatic Negotiations. Chalmers against the Encroachments of the Civil Courts. Claim of Rights. A Church in one Day.—6. Decision of the House of Lords. Scotland prepares. Convocation of the 17th November. Address to the People of Scotland. Answer of the Government Its Mistake. Appeal of Chalmers. Reply of the People. Decision of the Commons.—7. Dilemma. 18th May 1843. Concourse of People. St. Andrews. The Protest. The Exodus. Deputations.—8. The Procession. Cannon Mills. Chalmers, first Moderator of the Free Church. Deed of Demission. Ministers leave their Manses and Churches. Vital Preaching. Sites, or the Wilderness. Efforts of the Christian People. Six Hundred Churches. Benmore and the Free Church. No Recoil.

I.

UNION AND PATRONAGE.

It is after the most painful fatigues, and the most strenuous exertion, that sleep generally overcomes a man; and even so, after the most laborious struggles, does the church lie most exposed to the danger of slumber. A revival is generally followed by a lethargy, and a great elevation by a great fall.

After the first three centuries, scarcely were the flames of persecution extinguished, and the children of God no longer exposed to confess their faith by the sacrifice of their blood, when the church, exchanging the swords and scaffolds of Trajan and Aurelius for the soft seats and sumptuous couches of Constantine and his successors, fell into a deep slumber.

The mighty revival of the Reformation was likewise followed by the torpor of a scholastic and deadening theology. The awakening of Pietism and Spener in Germany, at the end of the seventeenth century, gave place to a rationalism which threatened to be for the church the sleep of the tomb. Will it not be the same with the deliverance which, as we have seen, was granted by God to Scotland? Will it not become a stone of offence in her way, against which she will stumble and fall?

On the 8th of March, 1702, on the death of King William, Queen Anne, the second daughter of James II., succeeded. The victories of Marlborough have shed glory on her reign, and she was, at Utrecht, the arbitress of Europe. But her most memorable act was the Union of England and Scotland, thus forming one parliament. To the preparation of this Union, the government, soon after her accession, bestowed their utmost attention. Under some real advantages, great dangers lay concealed. Scotland was Presby-

terian, England Episcopal; the weaker of the two kingdoms might be apprehensive of seeing her ecclesiastical principles misunderstood by the stronger. An act therefore passed, as the basis of the Treaty of Union, by virtue of which (these are the very words)—"The true Protestant religion, as presently professed within this kingdom, with the worship, discipline, and government of this church, should be effectually and unalterably secured. Her Majesty expressly provides and declares, that they shall remain and continue unalterable, and that the said Presbyterian government shall be the only government of the church within the kingdom of Scotland; and it is hereby statuted and ordained, that this Act of Parliament, with the establishment therein contained, shall be held in all time coming as a fundamental and essential condition of any treaty or union to be concluded betwixt the two kingdoms WITHOUT ANY ALTERATION THEREOF, OR DEROGATION THERETO, IN ANY SORT FOR EVER."

This was the tenor of the Act of Union of the 16th January, 1707. It is worthy of our attention, that we may rightly understand the present times. It was most clearly and categorically settled, that the united parliament of England and Scotland should make no change whatever in the constitution of the Scottish Church; so that any infringement of the fundamental act of the Union of the two kingdoms might be regarded as virtually implying the dissolution of this great national treaty. The Union was completed upon this clearly defined basis, and, thenceforward, one and the same parliament represented the two nations. Thus it seemed to have put the Church of Scotland in immutable and irrevocable possession of her liberties. But what are all human guarantees? Scarcely had five years passed away, when the ecclesiastical government of Scotland underwent an important change, and the treaty of Union was seriously infringed. At this very time, at the distance of more than a century, Scotland is still troubled and agitated by this violation of her treaty with England. We proceed

to describe the way in which the lamentable event was brought about.

There existed in Scotland a powerful Jacobite party, all the members of which were attached to the Stuarts; but some of them were also attached to Episcopacy, and others to Popery. All were full of hatred to the Evangelical Presbyterian Church, and desired its overthrow, regarding it as the bulwark of civil and religious liberty. This party, which also existed in England, came into power during the reign of Queen Anne, and formed a ministry which included Sir Simon Harcourt, the famous infidel Bolingbroke, and the Duke of Hamilton, the chief of the Scottish Jacobites. The object of this ministry was to procure that the Pretender, the Chevalier St. George, godson of the Pope, and brother to the queen, who, ever since 1701, had been recognized by Louis XIV. of France as King of England, by the title of James III., should be acknowledged as the successor of Anne, to the exclusion of the Protestant branch of the family, the head of which was now the Princess Sophia, Duchess of Hanover. This Papist party was powerfully supported from abroad. The Pretender, closely allied to the Pope, received from him subsidies, prayers, and indulgences in favor of those who would either pray or act for the success of his cause. Queen Anne herself was desirous that her brother, the Popish Pretender, should be her successor, rather than the Protestant Princess of Hanover, and did all in her power to that effect.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland saw the state of affairs in its true light, and perceiving the dangers that now threatened the faith, ordered, that in the public prayers the name of the Princess Sophia should be placed immediately after the queen's, as her rightful successor.

The Jacobite or Popish party, desirous of clearing their way, now attempted to weaken the Church of Scotland. By thus degrading that illustrious bulwark of truth and freedom, the Papists or Jacobites hoped, besides the immediate ad-

vantages that they would derive, to create in Scotland a spirit of discontent against England, which would render it more easy for the Pretender to win the Scottish throne, and make it a stepping-stone to that of England. In fact, it has always been through Scotland that the different Pretenders, Charles II., the Chevalier St. George, and the Duke of Albany, have endeavored to repossess themselves of Great Britain. The Jacobite party saw no better way of accomplishing this than to restore Patronage, which had been solemnly abolished by the Revolution of 1688. The restoration of Patronage was, therefore, a work of Papistical tendency, conceived and executed by the friends of the Pretender. These are the expressions of a distinguished member of the Jacobite party in England, (formerly a bishop,) in a letter addressed by him to another Episcopalian in Scotland, and which, at the time of the disruption in 1843, was laid before the House of Commons. After showing that the aim of the party should be the re-establishment of Prelacy, and adding that the Act of Union renders this object difficult to attain, the author proceeds: "The matter must first be sounded at a distance; and a just computation of our strength, and some previous settlement made, such as restoring of patronage, and the granting of indulgences, with liberty to possess churches and benefices; and this will undoubtedly make way for an entire re-establishment of the ancient apostolic order of bishops; for our queen, having right, as patron, to a great many churches, she will still prefer those of our persuasion to others, and the rest of laical patrons, partly through interest, and to please her Majesty, will follow her example."

This calculation could not fail of being realized. In fact, according to a late enumeration, out of 972 parishes, the crown has the patronage of 302, the privy council 60, and different landholders 587. There remained only 24 for different colleges or heads of families, more or less unbiassed by aristocratical or episcopal influence.

The Jacobite party immediately set to work. As the Act of Union stipulated that the Church of Scotland should retain all her institutions, after the purely Scottish parliament had been dissolved, and an Anglo-Scottish parliament had succeeded it in London; it was a necessary consequence that the united parliament had no power, as we have seen, to change one iota in the constitution of the Scottish Church; and that if such a change had been proposed, it would have been requisite again to convene the Scottish parliament at Edinburgh, which body alone had the right of deciding in concert with the General Assembly. Yet the contrary course was adopted.

The son of one of the former patrons of the Church of Scotland, (Mr. Murray, son of Lord Stormont,) proposed in the House of Commons, on the 13th of March, 1712, the restoration of church patronage in Scotland, and on the 7th of April the bill passed.

All Scotland was in consternation, and the most animated speeches were delivered north of the Tweed. Every one, even those who were unmoved by the political and ecclesiastical prepossessions of the times, regarded patronage with suspicion. Most of the patrons at the present day belong to the Episcopal Church, as many of them belonged to it at that period. Now to cause the ministers of one church to be appointed by men belonging to another, is certainly one of the greatest ecclesiastical absurdities that can be imagined. For the sake of consistency, they should have settled that, in England, for instance, the bishops of the Anglican Church should be appointed by the Pope. Besides this, the Scotch could never forget that it was by shedding the blood of their generous martyrs that the attempt had been made to set up the church of Archbishop Laud in the midst of them, to the members of which they were now to consign the nomination of their pastors. "Patronage," said most of them, "is nothing but a tool of the government to bring this nation to Popery."

Scotland, in alarm, hastily sent to London three deputies —Carstares, Blackwell, and Baillie—to oppose in the House of Lords that fatal measure, which had been already agreed upon in the Commons. But notwithstanding their protestations, the bill passed the Upper House on the 12th of April, and on the 22d was presented for the royal assent. What would Queen Anne do?

It was an immoral act which the queen of England was then required to perform. The two nations had just been united by a solemn treaty, and before the ink had time to dry, the ministers destroyed the parchment in their sovereign's presence. What did they propose but the repeal of the Treaty of Union, the annihilation of the Revolution Settlement, the abolition of her own right to the empire?

All these considerations were of no avail. "It only concerns a few Puritans," they told the queen. Besides this, other important objects were to be attained. The queen gave her assent.

But this act, in reality a most revolutionary one, was merely a beginning. The Jacobite and Popish party were preparing other bills, one of which was to abolish the General Assemblies of the church; another to force the presentee on the flocks without leaving the latter even the form or appearance of a call; and a third to restore their revenues to the bishops.

The death of Queen Anne, and the accession of the House of Hanover, delivered the church, with the help of God, from these fresh attacks. Bolingbroke saved himself by flight, and went to hide his infidelity and his fatal designs in France. Yet the introduction of patronage was sufficient. It was an infraction not only of the Presbyterian system, but of public faith. England, at this very hour, is moved at the violation of another treaty committed on the banks of the Vistula, near Poland and Gallicia. But she would do well to be moved at this annihilation of the most solemn statutes which has been committed, not by others, but by herself,—not fifteen

hundred miles from London, but in that very metropolis. It is true that more than a century has elapsed since the deed was done; but an old iniquity is still more flagrant than a new one; it is increased every year by the injustice which refuses to redress it. Such injustice is a crevice in the armor of a people; in spite of all they do, this defect becomes more and more apparent, neutralizing every movement. Sooner or later the consequences will be seen. "They have sown the wind, and they shall reap the whirlwind," says Hosea, (viii. 7.)

II.

ROBERTSON'S PERIOD AND MODERATISM.

After such a violation of the treaty, we might have expected from Scotland a legal, Christian, and energetic resistance. But the former days were passed away. At the period of the Revolution of 1688, the Presbyterian Church had received within her three hundred of the prelatic, worldly, and persecuting curates of Charles and James II., who had thus formed a party averse to evangelical piety, sound doctrine, and ecclesiastical liberty, and always ready to concur in political intrigues. There were, besides, other causes. After the struggles that Scotland had undergone from 1660 to 1688, the whole country experienced a reaction similar to that which takes place in the human frame after violent exertion. The Arian and Arminian doctrines, elaborated in Holland and England, found among this people a well-prepared soil. In the opinion of many, the Gospel was no longer a work of expiation and of regeneration accomplished by Jesus Christ; it was transformed into "a milder dispensation," a Neonomianism, without either grandeur or strength. The patrons naturally preferred these Arminian clergymen to the evangelical ministers, finding, among the former, men more compliant, more indifferent, and more accommodating

as to the moral law. Thus laxity in the essential doctrines of Christianity went along with laxity as to the liberties of the church, and the two qualifications united, thenceforward formed the distinctive characteristics of what afterwards received the name of Moderatism. Every period has its peculiar danger. After having had to sustain in the sixteenth century the hateful and perfidious struggle against Popery, and in the seventeenth the violent and cruel one against Prelacy, the Church of Scotland was now to be enfeebled in the eighteenth by the enervating and lethargic vapors of Patronage and Moderatism.

Yet the truly evangelical did not yield; and when they beheld Patronage introduced by the illegal act of Queen Anne, they rose against this restoration of a system odious to the whole people of Scotland. The General Assembly itself protested. Queen Anne being dead, the Church of Scotland renewed her protest in 1715, before George I., and in 1717 sent a deputation to London to obtain the repeal of that act. The petition was read, but Parliament dissolved without paying attention to it. Similar protests were repeated year after year by the General Assembly, till 1784, a period which was that of youth with some of ourselves. The revocation of the act of Queen Anne was the *Delenda Carthago* of Scotland. "What!" said they, "would you deprive Christians, a free people, of all interest in the choice of those to whom they intrust the care of their souls? Would you give up this right to unconcerned patrons, who often do not even reside in the parish, and would themselves devolve it upon others?" But what did that signify to men who were strangers to the Gospel? They took great care, indeed, of the prosperity of the church! At last the church felt little concern in it herself. In 1784, moderate opinions were decidedly prevalent on this subject, and the protest was laid aside.

Scotland submitted to this unlawful act. In the beginning of the eighteenth century her fatal slumber had com-

menced. The church had been losing her senses by degrees, and the mephitic vapors of Moderatism, ascending to her head, had deprived her of the consciousness of her own existence. This lethargic influence had increased from year to year, and she fell into a long and deep sleep.

During the first ten years of the union of the two kingdoms, the feelings of grievance which this violation of national compacts had excited, were so strong, that no patron dared avail himself of the right of presentation which the Act of Queen Anne had bestowed on him. But by degrees, especially after 1735, the time when the Moderates obtained a decisive influence in the direction of the church, the call of ministers by the congregation became nothing more than a form—a mere compliment paid to the pastor by his flock; and the liberties of the Church of Scotland, which had cost so much precious blood, were about to be overwhelmed by the stagnant waters of Moderatism.

Yet a few generous voices still made themselves heard. The spirit of early times—the spirit of Knox, of Melvill, of Welsh—was not yet extinct. Thus, when a dead calm falls upon the sea, destroying all life and motion, light airs from time to time gently swell the sails of the ship, until at last every movement of the air ceases, and the disheartened sailors can no longer work the vessel. In like manner, a few vivifying breezes still came, from time to time, to reanimate Scotland, lying still and motionless in the dead calm of the Moderate party.

Ebenezer Erskine, minister of Stirling, was one of the first witnesses for God who preached against the growing corruptions of the church. This took place in 1732. He was summoned to the bar of the Assembly, to be rebuked by the Moderator; but, feeling convinced that he had acted conformably to the laws of the church, he protested against the citation, and three of his colleagues joined him in so doing. All four, after being deprived, formed themselves into a distinct presbytery. This was the first secession, which now

numbers 400 congregations. "The seed fallen into good ground brings forth fruit, some a hundred, some sixty, some thirty fold," saith the Lord. Here each grain has brought forth a hundred.

Ten years afterwards a great religious revival manifested itself in different parts of Scotland. There were almost every day numerous assemblies at Cambuslang, Kilsyth, and elsewhere. A vast number of souls were converted. But this passing gleam of heavenly sunshine soon vanished, and the sky was again covered with thick clouds.

God usually decrees that when great things are to be accomplished, either for good or evil, some man should appear, who influences and rules the whole period. This now happened. An illustrious writer, William Robertson, the historian of Charles V., now took his place at the head of Scottish Moderatism. Of irreproachable moral conduct, and commanding genius, he undertook to oblige the flocks everywhere to receive the presentee of the patron. During his reign (this is not too strong a word), which lasted nearly thirty years, Robertson showed himself in the government of the church, as he did also in his remarkable writings, to be a stranger to the internal wants of the people of God, and to the life of faith.

He attached himself to the political, social, and psychological points of view, and was, in these respects, an incomparable historian; but far from exhibiting to his readers, even in the history of the Reformation, the power of the Divine Word, and the might of evangelical faith—far from setting in its true light the necessity of faithful churches developing themselves conformably to the doctrines and the life of grace; he does not even appear aware of the existence of such things, and they remain to him a *terra incognita*. There was unity in Robertson: the writer and the Moderator were one and the same individual; and it might be said of him in both characters, as Luther said of Erasmus, "In him the human

predominates over the divine."* Caring little for conscience or for individual convictions, and holding with a firm grasp the yoke of patronage, under which he would cause all Scotland to pass, he said to every one: "Bow the head or go out!"

The first instance of this tyranny occurred in 1752. One Richardson, presented by the patron of Inverkeithing, was rejected by the parishioners. The General Assembly ordered him to be settled in spite of their objections; but Mr. Thomas Gillespie, one of the ministers appointed to proceed to his settlement, refused to do so. In consequence of this Mr. Gillespie was deprived. "I rejoice," said the venerable man, meekly, on hearing his sentence,—"I rejoice that to me it is given, in behalf of Christ, not only to believe in Him, but also to suffer for His sake." This act brought about the second secession, known by the name of the Relief, which now numbers 114 churches. The two secessions this year (1847) united themselves into one Scottish Presbyterian Church.

Thenceforward, intrusions become more and more frequent, and often the clergymen appointed by the General Assembly to ordain a pastor were seen to arrive at a village with a military escort, which was to lend them assistance. Then, as in the time of the Stuarts, the soldiers settled the minister; and this was what they called "the Moderate system." May God preserve his church from such moderation! "Wasting and destruction are in their paths!" (Isaiah, lix. 7.)

At Nigg, in Ross-shire, John Balfour, a faithful pastor, had long led his flock to the "good Shepherd who laid down His life for the sheep." On his death, the parishioners, knowing that the conduct of the minister presented to them was not in accordance with the Gospel, refused to call him. But on the day of ordination, four members of the presbytery, who were Moderates, (the others kept at a distance,)

* Humana prevalent in eo plus quam divina.

proceeded to the church to settle the presentee. The church was empty, not a single parishioner appeared; when suddenly, in one of the galleries, a pious and energetic Scotchman showed himself, and, turning to the four astonished commissioners, exclaimed: "If you settle a man to the walls of the kirk, the blood of the parish of Nigg will be required of you." It was in vain; the wall system prevailed: what they cared for was not the living stones of the spiritual house; it was merely the benches, the bricks, and plaster. A minister was given to the walls of this church, and the pious parishioners never more entered it.

A Mr. Thomson was presented by the patron to the parish of St. Ninians. Six hundred heads of families, sixty heritors, and all the elders of the parish, except one, opposed him. The struggle lasted seven years. At length, the General Assembly, in 1773, ordered the presbytery to proceed to the ordination. An immense crowd filled the church; but instead of the usual questions, the presiding minister, alarmed at the work he was to perform, addressed to the presentee this affecting and solemn appeal:—"I conjure you by the mercies of God, for the sake of the great number of souls of St. Ninians, by that peace of mind which you would wish in a dying hour, and that awful and impartial account which, in a little, you must give to God of your own soul, and the souls of this parish, at the tribunal of our Lord Jesus Christ,—give it up." There was a profound silence. At length the miserable Thomson said dryly, "Sir, proceed to obey your superiors." The ordination followed; but the souls of Christians were stirred within them, and many cried out, in distress: "O God! when wilt thou break the yoke of our burden, the staff of our shoulder, and the rod of our oppressor?" (Isaiah, ix. 4.)

It was all in vain. The reign of Moderatism became more and more absolute. Robertson himself was soon outdone, and after having destroyed the liberties of the church, men were found willing to abolish the doctrines of the Word of

God. Several ministers who preached Unitarian doctrines demanded of the General Assembly the abolition of the Westminster Confession of Faith. Robertson desired it to be maintained; but being unwilling to engage in this new struggle, as we are told by Sir Henry Moncrieff, one of his most intimate friends, he retired. This happened in 1780; he was then only fifty-nine years old, and his faculties retained their full vigor.

The ecclesiastical influence of Robertson was perpetuated even after his withdrawal. He died in 1793; and the period to which he has given his name thus came to a close in the days of the convulsions, the murders, and the destructions of the French Revolution. This is worthy of observation.

Evangelical Christianity had almost expired in Scotland, and absolutism, error, and lethargy had subdued the free and living country of Melvill and of Knox.

Then commenced a period of transition, which separates the dismal times of Robertson from the glorious epoch of Chalmers.

III.

CHALMERS' PERIOD AND THE VETO.

The horrors of the French Revolution, spreading terror in all directions, awakened, in many hearts, the consciousness of the crime they had committed in abandoning the Gospel of the grace of God. Though Scotland had never deviated from the faith so far as had been done on the Continent, and especially in France, she yet accepted, as addressed to herself, that awful voice of the Lord, which then, as Hosea says, "roared like a lion." (Hosea, xi. 10.)

The whole of Great Britain experienced a shock from heaven, which, in many places, caused the living waters of faith to gush forth anew. Christian Missions were the prin-

cipal channels in which these fresh springs of truth and life were now to flow.

Robertson had buried the Church of Scotland: Chalmers raised her from the dead. Or rather the power of darkness had prevailed under the illustrious name of the historian of Scotland and of Charles V.; the power from on high was made effectual under the illustrious name of the great theologian, the great philosopher, the great philanthropist of the nineteenth century.

Chalmers did not stand alone; there were many other Christians who also set their hands to the work. Some were even engaged in it before him, both within and without the Church. The names of Andrew Thomson and of Thomas M'Crie must here take precedence of others; yet the principal place belongs to Chalmers. The converson of a great number of students and young ministers was owing, under God, to the instructions and writings of this divine. His influence is of quite a different nature from Robertson's. The latter presided immediately in the church courts, and held in his own grasp the reins of administration: Chalmers might also have done this; but he is,* perhaps, in a less degree than Robertson, a man of ecclesiastical government; he is pre-eminently a man of thought, of instruction, of preaching, and of Christian activity. In his study, in his Divinity Hall, in the pulpit, in literary societies, and among the poor of his people, still more than in committees and debates, are the scenes of his labors to be sought. However this may be, it is worthy of notice, that it was the two most eminent literary men of Scotland, who presided over two such contrary periods through which the Church of Scotland has successively passed. We can only add, that to live in the period of Chalmers, and yet remain attached to the traditions of that of Robertson, is a most singular and revolting anachronism.

* I leave the present tense. All this was written some months before the death of Chalmers.—Blessed be his name!

Evangelism having rapidly grown up, Moderatism, in like manner, declined. Dr. Duff, the first missionary sent by a national Protestant Church, had left Scotland, to carry into India the light of the Gospel. The Reform Bill, in 1832, commenced a new era, the influence of which was to be felt even in church matters. The number of ministers and elders who were attached to the Gospel was every year increasing. All seemed ready.

It was then that Chalmers stepped forward. He commenced the re-construction of the ecclesiastical edifice by the same means through which its ruin had been begun. He demanded in the General Assembly of 1833, that the dissent of a majority of the male heads of families, resident in the parish and communicants, should be of conclusive effect in setting aside the presentee. This motion was negatived by a majority of only twelve votes; but even, at that time, most of the ministers were in favor of the veto of the parish.

One circumstance which seemed to extenuate the evils of patronage increased the number of those ministers who voted in an evangelical direction. Frequently, of late years, the patrons had presented pious ministers to their parishes. These patrons had different motives for so doing. They knew that such men would possess the confidence of the people in a high degree; that under their influence public order and morality would be better maintained; and that even temporal prosperity would thereby result both to their tenants and to their estates. Besides, the Reform Bill, by increasing the number of electors, might make it desirable for the patrons (at least this is the opinion of well-informed persons) to appoint to their parishes ministers who enjoyed the confidence of the people, and who might therefore be able to give their landlords an effectual support. Therefore, although evangelical ministers were still looked upon with some degree of suspicion, on account of their known attachment to the liberties of the church, the patrons imagined that when once these young preachers were well settled in

a good parish and in a comfortable manse, they would become more temperate; and not be willing, for the sake of a few trivial *exaggerations*, to endanger their prospects, and those of their families. It appeared afterwards that they were mistaken.

That Chalmers's motion should have been rejected the first time by the General Assembly, is not to be wondered at. It is not unusual in England to see a measure carried triumphantly at last, after having been rejected for ten, fifteen, or twenty years. The Slavery question, the Corn Law bill, and many others, have proved this. They set to work again the following year; and this time, it was not on a minister, but on an elder, Lord Moncrieff, one of the first lawyers of Scotland, that the important motion of the Veto devolved. It was passed on the 27th of May, 1834, by a majority of forty-six.

This is the famous Veto Act, by virtue of which the General Assembly declares, "That it is a fundamental law of this Church, that no pastor shall be intruded on any congregation contrary to the will of the people; and in order that this principle may be carried into full effect, the General Assembly, with the consent of a majority of the Presbyteries of this Church, do declare, enact, and ordain, that it shall be an instruction to Presbyteries, that if, at the moderating in a call to a vacant pastoral charge, the major part of the male heads of families, members of the vacant congregation, and in full communion with the Church, shall disapprove of the person in whose favor the call is proposed to be moderated, in such cases, disapproval shall be deemed sufficient ground for the Presbytery rejecting such a person, and that he shall be rejected accordingly, and due notice thereof forthwith given to all concerned. And further declare, that no person shall be held to be entitled to disapprove as aforesaid, who shall refuse, if required, solemnly to declare, in presence of the Presbytery, that he is actuated by no factious or malicious motive, but solely, by a conscientious regard to the spiritual interest of himself or the congregation."

This important act became, if not the cause, at least the occasion, of the creation of the Free Church. It is therefore worth while pausing for a moment to consider it.

To form a just estimate of the subject, it is requisite to go back to 1712, to the famous act of Queen Anne. From 1712 to 1784, that is, during seventy-two years, the national Church of Scotland had protested against the Bill which, in contradiction to the Treaty of Union, re-established Patronage. Subsequently, in 1784, under the influence of the philosophy of the eighteenth century, the protest had been discontinued. But now, in 1833, the parishioners, flocks, presbyteries, and General Assemblies have been restored to life. Could the church keep silence? could she do less than had been done up to 1784 by a cold Moderatism? Could the period of Chalmers yield in fidelity to the period of Robertson? Such a supposition would have been contrary to the plainest common sense.

There were before the church two ways of repairing the mischief done to her constitution by the Jacobite ministry of Queen Anne,—either to abolish the act of 1712, or to accept the act, at the same time seeking to correct its pernicious effects. The former way was more decisive, more hostile; the latter milder and more conciliatory. Now, the Moderate church of the eighteenth century, had demanded the decisive solution; the Evangelical Church of the nineteenth chose the conciliatory way; and yet the vital period of Chalmers has been accused of having required even less than the lifeless period of Robertson!

This Act of Queen Anne stood in the midst of the church, as a rock, on which, year after year, the treasure ship of Scotland struck and was wrecked. The Veto Act, passed in 1834, had, for its object, to raise a barrier round the reef to prevent such disasters in future.

The prejudices and passions of the world would not permit this. The act, instead of preventing, as was intended, these multiplied disasters, occasioned an immense one.

Nevertheless, the shipwrecked have had no cause to complain. The yawning gulf of the Maelstrom has not swallowed them up; but, on the contrary, their misfortune has opened to them the ports of a new world, resplendent with liberty, light, and peace.

The right of the flock to call their pastor still subsisted in Scotland; only it had become a mere form, and sometimes even a falsehood. All that the Veto Act proposed to do, was to make this legal call of the flock a reality, by removing a falsehood which, to the shame of the church, was often repeated within her. In fact, the minister, presented by the patron, was called by the flock according to the following form:—

"We, the Heritors, Elders, Heads of Families and Parishioners of the Parish of ——— within the bounds of the Presbytery of ——— and County of ———, taking into consideration the present destitute state of the said Parish, through the death of our late pastor, the Rev. —— ——, being satisfied with the learning, abilities, and other good qualifications of you, Mr. —— ——, Preacher of the Gospel, and having heard you preach to our satisfaction and edification, do hereby invite and call you, the said Mr. —— ——, to take charge and oversight of this Parish, and to come and labor among us in the work of the Gospel ministry; hereby promising to you all due respect and encouragement in the Lord. We likewise entreat the Reverend Presbytery of ——— to approve and concur with this our most cordial call; and to use all the proper means for making the same effectual, by your ordination and settlement among us, as soon as the steps necessary thereto will admit. In witness whereof we subscribe these presents, at the Church of ——— on the —— day of ——, —— years."

Now, supposing that, as sometimes happened, there were in the parish six hundred elders and communicants against this minister, and in his favor only one member, the publican of the place for example; the result would be, that the form

of a call, which, instead of saying, "I, the publican of such a place call you," should say, "We, the Heritors, Elders, &c. call you," would, officially, and in a sacred matter, utter a falsehood. The Veto was meant to put a stop to this immorality; for it is not by immoralities and untruths that the church of the living and true God is to be governed.

It would, no doubt, have been better for the church, if, instead of passing the Veto Act, she had simply decreed that the call of the flock could only be valid when signed by the majority of the elders and communicants. This mode would have been more unfavorable to the patrons than the Veto; for it is more easy to find people who will abstain than those who will come forward to oppose. But the form would then have been more natural, and the morality of the measure more evident to all. I know not the reasons which prevented it from being adopted. I can only add that both measures—the one I have pointed out, and that which was followed—come precisely to the same thing, and the one as well as the other would have been rejected by the patrons. The church, according to my proposition, would have had the form more completely in her favor; but I do not think that in such a case the form would have prevailed over the reality.

The state in which the church then was, is sufficient to prove the necessity of re-establishing the truth within her. Such had been the sufferings of the flocks under the influence of the Act of Queen Anne, that, in a country so little inclined to dissent as Scotland, six hundred new congregations had formed themselves without the pale of the church; while the latter, notwithstanding a considerable increase of population, only numbered sixty new ones; and even these sixty were due to the evangelical life which afterwards produced the Free Church. It was evident that the church was in a state of suffering, and it was necessary to use some means to infuse new vigor into her enfeebled frame.

If we examine into the nature of the relations which ought

to exist between a pastor and his flock, we shall more clearly recognize the necessity for a law like that we are now considering.

The pastoral relationship is, with the Scotch, of a spiritual nature, based upon the feeling of a mutual contract agreeable to the Most High. If a congregation may not refuse the preacher presented to them, except by stating under different heads the motives of their dissent, the legality of which the superior courts are afterwards to judge, it would be as if, when a conjugal union was to be formed it should be required, not that the parties be agreed, and have a mutual affection for each other, but merely that their interests should coincide, and that there should be no legal obstacle to their marriage. Must a girl prove to her father or guardian, by depositions taken under her hand, that her proposed husband is vicious, in debt, or obnoxious to the law? Would it not be sufficient for her to state her conviction that this man could not make her happy? To establish a truly cordial relationship between the minister and his flock ought to be the desire and the aim of the church. "Not for that we have dominion over your faith," says St. Paul, "but are helpers of your joy." (2 Cor. i. 24.)

Will all this be considered visionary? Shall we throw away a vital religion, which proposes, above all things, to satisfy the requirements of the heart, and substitute for it a religion of forms, of clergy, of tribunals, and of political courts? God forbid!

If there is any thing which, in my opinion, shows to what a degree of spirituality God has raised the Church of Scotland, it is this intimacy which she requires between the pastor and his flock. There is not a Christian, nay, not even a philosopher, who ought not to be filled with admiration at this profound and true understanding of the most sacred of all relationships. And this is the venerable sentiment which the tribunals would trample under foot. Shall we tear the wreath from the virgin's brow?

The adversaries of the church required that the flock should categorically state the motives for their refusal, and called upon the higher church courts to decide for or against these motives. Thus, the right of refusal was misplaced; the decision was taken from the flock, and given to these church courts. A right which I possess, under the condition that in every case the exercise of this right should depend upon another, is no right at all; it is a mere shadow.

Besides, a presentee may not be immoral, he may not be ignorant, he may not be an infidel, and he may even be strictly orthodox, without possessing vital godliness, without being converted, and consequently without the power either to convert or to edify others. Now, it was only on the three first points that the parishioners were to be heard. It was not to ascertain whether the presentee had "passed from death unto life," as the Scripture says (1 John iii. 14). This is a matter which eludes judicial appreciation, and, yet, for poor Christians, it is one of vital import.

The great theologian of Scotland rose against these claims of the friends of Patronage. "The Christian people," said Chalmers, "may not be able to state their objection, save in a very general way; and far less be able to plead and to vindicate it at the bar of a Presbytery; and yet the objection be a most substantial one notwithstanding, and such as ought, both in all Christian reason, and Christian expediency, to set aside the presentation.

"I will not speak of the moral barrier that is created to the usefulness of a minister by the mere general dislike of a people—for this may give way to experience of his worth. But there is another dislike than to the person of a minister;—a dislike to his preaching, which may not be groundless, even though the people be wholly incapable of themselves arguing or justifying the grounds of it. Such is the adaptation of Scripture to the state of humanity, that even the most illiterate might perceive it most intelligently and soundly. Yet when required to give the reasons of his

objections to a minister at the bar of his Presbytery, all the poor man can say for himself might be, that he does not preach the Gospel; or that, in his sermon, there is no food for his soul. '*I was an hungered and you gave me no meat.*' It was denying the adaptation of Christianity to human nature, to deny that this is a case which may be often and legitimately realized. With a perfect independence on the conceits and the follies, and the wayward extravagance of the humors of the populace, I have, nevertheless, the profoundest respect for all those manifestations of the popular feeling, which are founded on an accordancy between the felt state of human nature and the subject matter of the Gospel; and, more especially, when their demand is for those truths which are of chief prominency in the Bible. But in very proportion to my sympathy, and my depth of veneration for the Christian appetency of such cottage patriots, would be the painfulness I should feel when the cross-questionings of a court of review were brought to bear upon them; and the men bamboozled and bereft of utterance by the reasonings which they could not re-argue, or, perhaps, the ridicule which they could not withstand, were left to the untold agony of their own hearts—because within the establishment which they loved, they could not find, in its Sabbath ministrations, or week-day services, the doctrine that was dear to them.

"To overbear such men," exclaimed the Scottish divine, whom all Europe looked upon with respect, "is the highway to put an extinguisher on the Christianity of our land,—the Christianity of our ploughmen, our artisans, our men of handicraft and of hard labor: yet not the Christianity theirs of deceitful imagination, or of implicit deference to authority; but the Christianity of deep, I will add, of rational belief, firmly and profoundly seated in the principles of our moral nature, and nobly accredited by the virtues of our well-conditioned peasantry. In the older time of Presbytery,—that time of Scriptural Christianity in our pulpits,

and of psalmody in our cottages,—these men grew and multiplied in the land; and, though derided in the heartless literature, and discountenanced and disowned in the heartless politics of other days, it is their remnant which acts as a preserving salt among our people, and which constitutes the real strength and glory of the Scottish nation."

An anecdote related by Chalmers in the General Assembly of 1840, will illustrate this idea more forcibly. "An illiterate female," said he, "in humble life, applied for admission to the sacrament; but at the customary examination, could not frame one articulate reply to a single question that was put to her. It was in vain to ask her of the offices or mediation of Christ, or of the purposes of His death. Not one word could be drawn out of her; and yet there was a certain air of intelligent seriousness, the manifestations of right and appropriate feeling—a heart and a tenderness indicated, not by one syllable of utterance, but by the natural signs of emotion which fitly responded to the topics of the clergyman, whether she was spoken to of the sin that condemned, or of the Saviour who atoned for her. Still, as she could make no distinct reply to any of his questions, he refused to enroll her as a communicant; when she, on retiring, called out, in the fulness of her heart, 'I cannot speak for Him, but I could die for Him!' The minister, overpowered, handed to her a sacramental token; and with good reason, although not a reason fell in utterance from her. And so, too, with the collective mind of many a rustic congregation, that thinks aright, and feels aright, without one propounded reason, which, if put into a record could adequately represent the whole truth of sentiment that kindles in their bosoms, and lights up there a clearness of perception, as well as sensibility, which, however beyond the reach of their expression, is of one analysis, gives all the authority of justice to their collective voice. To confine the Presbytery to the reason of these men, and debar us from

all the conclusions grounded on direct sympathy with the men themselves, were to do them the grossest injustice."

Thus spoke Chalmers. I do not think that the most sacred interests of the church have ever been defended with more admirable eloquence, and more triumphant evidence.

Yet a question presented itself: Should not the Veto Act, passed by the General Assembly, have been approved by Parliament, in order to render it legal?

That the Parliament ought to have sanctioned it, does not, in my opinion, admit of a doubt. The Parliament ought, even now, to do a great deal more; it ought to repeal the illegal Act of Queen Anne, and thus abolish patronage. This is required from it by the faith of the treaties on which the Union of Scotland and England is based.

It is, therefore, evident, that as the legislative body ought to have done *more*, it was still more incumbent upon it to do *less*.

The Parliament ought eagerly to have seized the proffered opportunity of redressing the unlawful acts of its despotic predecessors in the stormy periods of Jacobitism. Every thing seemed to indicate that this would be the course of the civil power.

In fact, Lord Moncrieff, who moved the Veto Act in the General Assembly, and who was, as we have already seen, one of the highest legal authorities of the Church of Scotland, had proposed this act, as being "entirely within the powers of the church." The Assembly had also the advice of her own Advocate, and other distinguished lawyers among her members. She had, besides, in her favor the Lord Advocate of Scotland, the celebrated Lord Jeffrey, intrusted by the crown with the defence of its judicial rights. Lastly, she possessed the approbation of the Lord High Commissioner, sent by His Majesty, to be present as his representative at the debates of the General Assembly.

Nay more, Parliament appeared to incline in favor of the Veto. Lord Brougham, who was then Chancellor, said, on

the 23rd of July, 1834, when presenting to the House the petition for the Abolition of Patronage :—"The recent Act passed in the Assembly (the Veto Act) will go a great way in smoothing the path to a satisfactory conclusion. It would have been premature of the legislature to adopt any measures without the acquiescence of that important body. It is most satisfactory to my mind, that they have taken up the question in the spirit they have done; and that the result of their deliberations has been, the adoption of those important resolutions which have passed in their last session."

The defenders of the rights of the church did not come forward rashly. They had cautiously felt their way, and were supported by the most respectable authorities.

But supposing that Parliament should refuse to sanction the Veto, would the act, in that case, remain legal?

I have some doubts on this matter. The Christian must be subject to the government *de facto*, even when that government has not right on its side. I therefore think, that what really did happen in 1843 was the only solution possible; and that the church could not maintain her Veto in spite of the state, otherwise than by renouncing all alliance with that state.

The Veto Act, from 1833 to 1843, marked the end of the reign of Moderatism in the Church of Scotland, and the commencement of that of evangelical principles. Thus, precisely a century after the first secession in 1733 had proclaimed the necessity of a reformation of ecclesiastical government, the ancient principles of Scottish Presbyterianism were reinstated in the church.

The kindly effects of the Veto were not long in displaying themselves; and they were manifold. That class of divinity students, so numerous everywhere, and who had hitherto been so in Scotland—young men without piety and without a call—who devoted themselves to the ministry as to a business by which they were to gain a living, almost entirely disappeared; and pious and devoted pastors, men of faith

and men of prayer, as in the early times, rapidly increased within the church. Other blessings also crowned this work. Thirty congregations, which had seceded from the church, returned to her bosom. At the same time, though during the hundred years previous to the Veto, only sixty-three churches had been built in Scotland by voluntary contributions, two hundred were erected during the nine years which elapsed between the passing of the Veto and the disruption of 1843. Thus, before the Veto, there had been but little more than half a church in a year, and afterwards more than twenty-two in the same time. Even in the very year following the Veto—from 1834 to 1835—sixty-four new churches were seen to rise; that is, in a single year, one church more than under the influence of patronage during a whole century. But immediately after this, a powerful opposition was formed against the church.

IV.

AUCHTERARDER AND MARNOCH.

The opposition included, both in Scotland and in England, a considerable number of honorable men, to whose public characters we are happy to pay the tribute of merited respect.

There were politicians who, with minds pre-occupied above all things with the state, and its prerogatives, were afraid of the independence of the church, and desired to establish the ecclesiastical supremacy of the government.

There were lawyers, who, by the very forms into which their minds had been moulded by their professional studies, were unprepared to conceive a purely spiritual question; who exaggerated, without being aware of it, the jurisdiction of the civil courts: and claimed to bring before them those cases which, by the constitutions both of church and state, ought not to be subjected to their government.

There were patrons, who believed themselves possessed of

incontestable rights to the appointment of ministers, and who were unwilling to be deprived of them by the church.

But if we may believe the prevailing sentiment in Scotland, there was yet a fourth class, which was one of the most influential. There were men opposed to the Gospel. Perceiving that the Veto Act, which they had at first regarded merely as a liberal measure, would favor the pre-eminence of evangelical principles in Scotland, these men turned against it. The resurrection of the ancient Presbyterianism, with its faith, its vitality, its decision, its strict morality, its Christian works, and its independence, alarmed the world. Life has always terrified the dead.

It was thought necessary to get rid of some of the most pious and decided leaders of the movement. Finding that there was too much animation and strength in the body of the church, it was determined, as one of our Swiss governments (Vaud) has lately done, to give that body an effectual bleeding; to open a vein, and draw from it its richest blood.

These various opposing parties set immediately to work. Let us mark their first steps.

On the 14th October, 1834, the parish of Auchterarder being vacant, Lord Kinnoull presented to it, as pastor, Mr. Robert Young, and the flock was required to meet for moderating in the call. This parish contained three thousand one hundred and eighty-two souls. When the time arrived for signing the call, three individuals of the three thousand one hundred and eighty-two came forward. Three individuals! one of these was his lordship's factor, who did not reside in the parish; the other two were householders in the place, Michael Tod, and Peter Clerk. But at the same time, two hundred and eighty heads of families, almost the whole of the communicants, for the number on the roll was three hundred and thirty, signed an act by which they disapproved of the presentee, whom they did not consider fit for their edification. I will not speak of the individual personally; he is still living; besides, I am unacquainted with him, ex-

cept by sight. One day, as I was crossing the bridge of Perth, in company with an Elder of the Established Church, Mr. Young was passing also: he pointed him out to me, saying, "There is the man who was the first occasion of all our troubles." My friend even stopped a moment, and exchanged a few words with him. My knowledge of him is confined to this.

This matter was brought, in succession, before the Presbytery, the Synod, and the General Assembly. All these ecclesiastical bodies decided in favor of the flock. Lord Kinnoull and Mr. Young then appealed to the Court of Session; and this body, which, by the decisions of 1571, several times recognized by themselves, particularly in 1749 in the case of Dunse, had no right to interfere in cases of election, calling, or admission of ministers to ecclesiastical functions,—this civil court decided, by eight votes against five, that the rejection of the presentee on the ground of the dissent of the people was illegal, and ordered the Presbytery to alter their resolution, and to ordain the presentee.

I do not think that in any of the Protestant churches of the Continent a single minister could be found, (unless, perhaps, among the most decided Rationalists and Unitarians,) who would consent to ordain a minister for the sake of obedience to a magistrate's command. I have seen some ministers well known for an attachment, perhaps even exaggerated, to the principles of nationality, disclaim the idea with abhorrence. It is an enormity unheard of even in England. More sympathy might have been expected from the bench of bishops, at the idea of this enormity, which has been attempted in Scotland alone. No bishop would ordain a minister by order of a civil court. What also renders this act still more striking is the circumstance, that the only country of Christendom in which these unreasonable encroachments of the rulers have taken place, is the very one in which the principles of the liberty of the church have been most fully developed.

Her whole history most clearly exhibits, that if the church

is not the mistress of the state, yet neither is she the servant. Scotland shed her most precious blood in the course of the seventeenth century for the defence of her spiritual independence. She could not now abandon it. And if there were still worldly people, insensible either to the doctrine of evangelical freedom or to the memory of their fathers, yet at least they should have remembered that these very principles formed the basis of the Treaty of Union between England and Scotland.

Another fact soon presented itself. The minister of the parish of Marnoch had been obliged, on account of his age and infirmities, to employ an assistant, Mr. John Edwards, who, during the three years that he officiated in that capacity, made himself so much disliked by the parishioners, that the old pastor, yielding to the general desire, removed him. The minister being now dead, the patron, Lord Fife, presented this same Mr. Edwards, on the 27th of September, 1837, and a day was appointed for moderating in the call. But when the time came for signing it, all the parishioners sat still; and only one came forward,—the innkeeper of Aberchirder. At the same time the six elders who formed the session, and two hundred and fifty-four heads of families, out of two hundred and ninety-three, declared they could not call this preacher. The ministry of a man who had already officiated for three years in the parish, and who was then desired by no one but the innkeeper, could not certainly conduce to the edification of souls; the patron, therefore, wisely withdrew the presentee. But, wonderful to relate, the Presbytery of Strathbogie, to which Marnoch belonged, and the majority of which was composed of men devoted to Moderatism, resolved to support Mr. Edwards. The superior church authorities, the Synod, and the General Assembly, decided, on the contrary, in favor of the flock.

Another candidate, Mr. Henry, was now presented by the patron; but Mr. Edwards, determined upon maintaining what he called his rights, applied to the civil courts. The Court

of Session decided in his favor; and the Presbytery, without regard to the superior authority of the church, to which they owed obedience, resolved to settle Mr. Edwards as minister of Marnoch.

It was then that Dr. Candlish, a minister in the vigor of his age, of vital piety and unconquerable courage, endowed with prompt and just understanding, and with manly and powerful eloquence, arose in the Commission of the General Assembly, and proposed an energetic measure, yet conformable to the law. He demanded the suspension of the seven disobedient members of the Presbytery of Strathbogie. This motion was carried by one hundred and twenty-one against fourteen.

The strife had now commenced between the civil and the ecclesiastical courts, and a mighty struggle ensued between these two powers, which was not, it is true, to bring in its train either drowning or the gibbet, but which was destined to end in the divorce and entire separation of the two powers. This solution is at least worth the other.

The suspended ministers, astonished and irritated at this bold measure of their ecclesiastical superiors, again had recourse to the civil courts, and the latter forbade the sentence of the Assembly to be intimated in the churches, churchyards, or school-houses, and interdicted any other ministers than the seven recusants from preaching in their churches. The church recognized the rights of the civil power over the public buildings, but intimated its sentence in the open air; and the ministers sent to supply the place of those whom the Assembly had suspended, preached the Gospel in places independent of the state.

This firmness of the General Assembly excited still more the anger of the world, and reproaches and accusations were uttered against it on all sides; but, says the Word of God, "If ye be reproached for the name of Christ, happy are ye: for the Spirit of Glory and of God resteth upon you." (1 Peter, iv. 14.) This promise was wonderfully realized. A

remarkable outpouring of the Holy Spirit took place at that time, and there was in Scotland a religious revival, such as had not been witnessed for more than a century. At Kilsyth, Dundee, Perth, Blairgowrie, Jedburgh, Kelso; in Ross-shire, Sotherlandshire, and other places, multitudes of sinners forsook their evil ways, and the backsliding members of the church returned to their first love. Even in the parishes of the suspended ministers, the substitutes sent by the General Assembly, who preached in barns, in tents, and in the fields, often saw the auditory affected to tears. The Gospel thus penetrated into the very strongholds of Moderatism. "Our soul was cleaving to the dust, but Thou hast quickened us according to thy word." (Psalm cxix. 26.)

The delay granted by the General Assembly to the seven ministers of Strathbogie, to submit themselves to their authority, having been ineffectual, a formal indictment was served upon them, for having demanded and received from a civil court the power of exercising the sacred functions; though that power had been taken from them by a spiritual court, the only lawful authority in such matters, according to the Confession of Faith, which they themselves had sworn to. This accusation was carried at two different times; the first by one hundred and ninety-one to sixty-six, and the second, three months later, by ninety-one to fifteen.

The seven suspended ministers yet hesitated to take the last step, and ordain Mr. Edwards as minister at Marnoch. He, however, determined to go on to the end, and brought an action against the Presbytery, demanding, if they refused to induct him, the sum of £11,000 for damages and expenses. The court did not hesitate to sanction these proceedings by its justly revered authority, and ordered the Presbytery to induct Mr. Edwards. The civil courts thus annihilated the distinction which for three centuries had been established between spiritual and secular matters; they took into their own hands "the power of the keys," which the Confession of Faith denies to the civil magistrate. Nothing similar to

this had been seen in Scotland, except during the disastrous times of Charles II. All was now prepared for carrying out their decision.

On the 20th of January, 1841, so great a quantity of snow had fallen that the country was completely covered, and the roads rendered almost impassable. Yet the next day, notwithstanding the severity of the weather, a considerable crowd, consisting of about two thousand persons, repaired to Marnoch from all the adjacent places. The parishioners filled the body of the church, but the galleries and the approaches were filled with strangers. The seven suspended ministers, accompanied by Mr. Edwards, entered the building; and a strange scene now commenced in the sanctuary of the living God. The legal agent of the parishioners having asked the suspended ministers whether they were sent by the General Assembly, the supreme authority of the church; they refused to answer, and declared that they intended to proceed in their functions in the name of the law. Then the voice of the parish was heard in a clear, serious, solemn manner. A protest, signed by four hundred and fifty communicants, was read in the name of the elders, heads of families, and other church members of Marnoch, wherein they declared the interference of the civil courts in spiritual things illegal; disclaimed the jurisdiction of the seven ministers suspended from ecclesiastical functions by the highest authority of the church; and declared themselves ready to prove, before any lawful Presbytery, their objections to the life and doctrine of Mr. Edwards. "You and Mr. Edwards," said the poor parishioners of Marnoch, in conclusion, to the Presbytery—"you drive us from this house in which we and our fathers have so often met, and in which we would gladly have assembled ourselves together till the day of our death. We leave this meeting; but our hearts remain attached to the church of our fathers."

After these words the whole flock arose. There were aged men with heads white as the snow which then covered the

hills; men in the prime of life, full of decision and energy; youths, just entering into manhood, who had, as yet, sat but once or twice at the table of the Lord. All arose as one man. In the pews lay their Bibles and Psalm-books, many of which had already served more than one generation, and had never for a century left the place where they were now lying. Every parishioner took up his Bible and Psalm-book, and all in a body quitted the temple of their fathers, leaving the seven ministers to ordain to the walls the presentee, whose only partisan, the innkeeper, had not even made his appearance. The building remained in the possession of Edwards; but without the flock, without their Bibles. An enemy had made forcible entry into the citadel; but the garrison, overpowered, yet not conquered, had evacuated it with their arms and baggage, and the bare walls alone remained. The people continued leaving the building. All were sad, many shed tears. These pious men were seen crossing the snow-covered fields slowly and mournfully, wrapt in their plaids, with their Bibles under their arms, and looking back, from time to time, to the house of their prayers and their praises. After the congregation had departed, the strangers who surrounded the church rushed in, and some, indignant at the wrong done to their countrymen, caused a little confusion. As soon as order was restored, the usual questions were put to Edwards:—"Are not zeal for the honor of God, love to Jesus Christ, and desire for saving souls your great motives and chief inducements to enter into the office of the holy ministry, and not worldly designs and interests?" He answered audibly, "Yes." At this reply a shudder of awe and horror—a deep and solemn feeling—pervaded the Assembly. The act of ordination was then completed, by order of a civil court, and without the presence of a single parishioner. After this, the seven suspended ministers withdrew amidst the hisses of the crowd; and the new-made pastor walked out surrounded by policemen.

The Marnoch intrusion* caused great sensation throughout Scotland, and Christians everywhere gave proofs of their brotherly love to this poor but faithful flock. The summer following, a new and pretty church, built by the contributions of their brethren, rose upon those hills; to which the parishioners, driven from their former temple, could carry their dear old Bibles and Psalm-books, and again sing, as their fathers had done, the praises of the thrice Holy God, who is in all times the refuge and the salvation of His people.

V.

THE THIRD REFORMATION.

While these events were passing, the church, and the General Assembly which represented her, remained firmly attached to the principles of her fathers. At the meeting of Assembly in 1838, the decisions of the civil courts were laid before them. The ministers and elders who had repaired to their posts, were all fully sensible of the importance of the crisis. "It now remains to be seen," said they, "whether the civil courts are the rulers of the church, or the ministers and elders, to whom Christ, according to our Confession, has intrusted its government. Shall we be less free than the bishops of the English Church, of whom no one dares to ask an account of their reasons for refusing to ordain any presentee? We will give up all,—our churches, our manses, our glebes, our stipends,—rather than acknowledge the encroachments by which a worldly power intends to trample under foot the inheritance of our fathers."

So spoke these noble Scotchmen. A minister of Glasgow, Dr. Buchanan, proposed the following resolution:—"The General Assembly, while they unqualifiedly acknowledge the exclusive jurisdiction of the civil courts in regard to the civil rights and emoluments secured by law to the church, and will

* It has been called in Scotland "the Marnoch crime."

ever give and inculcate implicit obedience to their decisions in such matters, do resolve, that, as is declared in the Confession of Faith of this National Established Church: 'The Lord Jesus Christ, as King and Head of the Church, hath therein appointed a government in the hand of Church officers, distinct from the civil magistrate;' and that, in all matters touching the doctrine, government and discipline of the church, her judicatories possess an exclusive jurisdiction, founded on the Word of God, 'which power ecclesiastical flows immediately from God and the Mediator, and is spiritual, not having a temporal head on earth, but only Christ, the only spiritual King and Governor of his Church.' And they do farther resolve, that this spiritual jurisdiction, and the sole Headship of the Lord Jesus Christ, on which it depends, they will assert, and at all hazards defend by the help and blessing of God."

Thus Scotland beheld the fulfilment of this promise: "He shall turn the heart of the children to their fathers," (Mal. iv. 6.); and the church, again taking her stand upon that ancient Rock, once defended by her martyrs, prepared to await with faith and courage the shock of the winds, the floods, and the tempest.

This resolution passed by a majority of forty-one.

The national enthusiasm in this serious struggle was still increasing. The people, both in towns and in the country, especially in the Highlands, were zealous for the cause of independence, but most of the nobility were in favor of patronage. The Marquis of Breadalbane was then almost alone in following the generous footsteps of the ancient Earls of Loudon and Sutherland. Petitions signed by 260,000 of the most pious of Scotland's sons, demanded the maintenance of the constitution of the church of their fathers. Few were indifferent, all were either for or against it, and the ferment was general.

The Moderate party then displayed a decision which they had never shown since the time of Robertson. They thought

the moment was now at hand for recovering their former dominion. The Assembly having in 1840 rejected a bill of a distinguished statesman, Lord Aberdeen, which in their opinion was calculated to legalize the attempts of the civil courts, and having in 1841, in their Commission, decided upon addressing a remonstrance to the ministers who supported the suspended clergymen of Strathbogie in their disobedience; the Moderate party determined upon taking the necessary steps to ascertain from the government whether they themselves should not be considered as constituting the church, and therefore alone entitled to the privileges and emoluments conferred by the laws.

Thus the minority proposed to drive out the majority. The Moderates claimed to set themselves in the place of the Evangelicals.

Upon this an extraordinary meeting of the Commission of the General Assembly was convened. On the 25th August 1841, a great concourse was gathered at Edinburgh. From the mountains of the north, from the plains of the south, from the east and from the west of Scotland, they had come at no other call than that of the church's danger. Nothing like it had been seen since that memorable day when the Covenant was signed in the Grayfriars' church-yard. The Commission resolved upon maintaining inviolate the independence of the church, or of perishing in its defence; and on the evening of the same day, one of the most spacious buildings of Edinburgh, the West Church, was filled with an immense crowd. Twelve hundred ministers and elders were in the nave, and the double galleries of the edifice were filled with a multitude of Christian men and women, determined upon following the Lord wheresoever He should call them. A venerable, grave, and wise minister, of heartfelt piety, one of whom many said, "We do not well understand the question, but wherever that disciple of Jesus goes we will follow,"—Dr. Gordon,—presided at this meeting. Dr. Candlish gave way to the energy of his feelings, and drew along with him the

whole auditory, trembling and glowing at his burning words. A deputation from the Irish Presbyterians announced to their brethren of Scotland that the sons of Erin were ready to aid them with their sympathy and their prayers; and the Scotchmen settled in the fertile fields of England declared that the church of their fathers would find them faithful in the hour of peril. When this solemn meeting was concluded, three thousand Christians rose with a spontaneous impulse, and sang with one heart, "Our feet shall stand in thy gates, O Jerusalem!" and the rest of the 122d Psalm.

The adverse party then redoubled their efforts, and set such new springs in motion as are generally found effectual. The government endeavored by diplomatic negotiations to induce the majority of the Assembly to coincide with their views; and the political press asserted that the ministry were ready to give up the independence of the church provided they might secure their emoluments. These reports filled Scotland with alarm. "Can it be possible," it was said, "that the servants of the Word of God should be caught in the nets of a crafty policy?" There were, it is true, some few who were caught, and in them they remained. But the church soon learned that she might expect totally different resolutions from those faithful and courageous ministers whose names will stand in the annals of Christianity as a crown of glory for Scotland.

The General Assembly met in 1842, and Dr. Welsh was Moderator. One step yet remained to be taken—to memorialize the Queen; and upon this they decided.

After a motion respecting patronage, proposed by Dr. Cunningham, Mr. Dunlop, an elder of the church, and an eminent lawyer, presented a "declaration against the unconstitutional encroachments of the civil courts," signed by one hundred and fifty members of the Assembly. This remarkable document having been read amid deep silence, Dr. Chalmers, who had risen in 1833, in the first Assembly which had claimed the rights of the church, arose once more in that

last meeting which was to terminate the existence of Evangelical predominance in the National Church of Scotland, and moved that the declaration be adopted. "It is no question," said he, with that noble and powerful eloquence which characterizes him,—"it is no mere question of individual or party wrangling, but a great constitutional question concerning the respective jurisdictions of two distinct and yet co-ordinate powers, each of them independent and supreme within its own sphere. With what formidable evils are we not inevitably threatened, if the Parliament allows the civil courts to persist in their encroachments on the constitutional jurisdictions of the church, and to grant orders in spiritual matters which conscience is compelled to reject, and to employ the argument of physical force, as if violence was to be set up in the place of right. Such arguments have been already employed," continued the orator, "but they may be taken up by men who have the strength of millions of the ungodly and sinners upon their side, and poured forth in some widespread war of turbulence and disorder over the face of our commonwealth."

Chalmers well knew, that when once religious liberty is trampled under foot, all other liberties are endangered. The motion was adopted by a majority of one hundred and thirty-one, and the Moderator delivered to the Lord High Commissioner, the respected Marquis of Bute, the Church's Claim of Rights, requesting him to present it to her Majesty. A separate address was also presented to Queen Victoria, praying her to take measures towards the abolition of Patronage.

The Assembly of 1842 thus commenced in Scotland the *Third Reformation.*

I will here mention a circumstance of trifling importance, but which may be considered as an example of that decision of character to be found in Scotland, which may, perhaps, be sought for in vain elsewhere. A minister, deposed by the Assembly, being in possession of the parish church of

Rhynie, on the morning of the 13th of June, the whole people of the place assembled before daybreak, at a spot which a generous Christian had given them, whereon to build another church. The opposite party had threatened them with an interdict, which, if produced the next day, or even that evening, might have prevented them from building their church. The permission of the General Assembly for the erection of the chapel had just arrived. All immediately set to work. The masons, builders, and carpenters of Solomon and Hiram (1 Kings, v.) never displayed such activity on Mount Zion, as that little band of poor and obscure Scottish Christians in erecting their humble chapel. They had already prepared timber, and quarried stone from the neighboring mountains. Laborers, masons, and carpenters, worked with willing hands; and, thanks to their vigorous efforts, before the evening of the same day, a spacious and commodious edifice was ready to receive the worshippers of the living God. A church was built in one day!

This was a symbol. When God's own time should arrive, the Free Church of Scotland, raised by the faith of a whole people, would also be set up in a day. "Behold the day; behold it is come." (Ezek. vii. 10.)

All, indeed, now tended towards this. On the first week of July, in the mountains, valleys, villages, and towns of Scotland, crowded meetings were held in different places. Clear and eloquent addresses enlightened the public mind upon the principles which the General Assembly had recently professed; men's consciences were convinced, and enthusiastic applause manifested the adherence of the people. There was a great excitement in Scotland; an excitement of a legitimate character, which, far from infringing the laws, claimed, as a right, the execution of the most solemn treaties.

VI.

STRUGGLES OF THE CHURCH AND STATE.

An important event now responded mournfully to this national movement, and hurried the church towards her complete enfranchisement. The House of Lords was to pronounce a final decision between the civil courts and the General Assembly. The anxious looks of Scotland were fixed upon the proceedings of this tribunal. There was little hope. On the one hand, how was it to be expected that a court, the majority of which was composed of English and Irish lords, should comprehend a Scottish question, which seemed difficult even to many of the Scotch themselves? Yet, on the other hand, might it not be hoped that these powerful lords, whose judgments ought to be formed on so elevated a standard, would rise above those clouds which obscure the sight of men who look from below? Would not this high court remember the illegal act passed by its predecessors in 1712, and endeavor to make amends for it?

It was not the case of Marnoch and Strathbogie but that of Auchterarder and Mr. Young, which was then brought before the House of Lords. The Presbytery, the majority of which was composed of evangelical ministers and elders, had refused to ordain Mr. Young, who was objected to by almost all the communicants of the parish; but that church court had, at the same time, awarded the fruits of the benefice to the lord patron. Nevertheless, Mr. Young brought an action for damages against the ministers and elders of the Presbytery, for having refused him, notwithstanding the decision of the civil courts, that ordination of which the Word of God says, "Lay hands suddenly on no man." (1 Tim. v. 22.)

The House of Lords, and especially the Lord Chancellor and Lord Brougham, whose opinions were changed in regard

to the Veto, decided, that for refusing to perform an act which should be the most unrestrained of any that can exist, —the consecration of a minister to the service of God,—the Presbytery might be liable to an action for damages.

On hearing this strange decision, the friends of the independence of the church were filled with consternation. "What," said they, "an assembly of ministers and elders may be condemned for refusing to perform a purely spiritual act, and may be fined for obeying the dictates of their conscience! All ecclesiastical government and discipline are thus at once laid prostrate. Nay, there can be no longer any ecclesiastical courts; for the very essence of a court is its liberty to decide according to its own convictions."

From that moment it became evident to every sound judgment that the Church of Scotland must break off all connection with the state. "Nothing now remains for us," said they, "but to protest against these unconstitutional invasions, and to retire, leaving to Him, who is the Prince of the kings of the earth, to vindicate His cause in His own time."

They must now be prepared for the event. The Lord was coming in his mighty power. His angel was to visit every manse, and every house in Scotland, so that there should be a great cry throughout the land. It was not in the still small voice that the Lord was to be heard, but in a great and strong wind that rent the mountains (1 Kings, xix. 11.) Scotland was to prepare to meet her God. (Amos, iv. 12.)

In the month of October, thirty-two of the oldest ministers of this noble church, sent an address to those ministers who took the deepest interest in her liberties, inviting them to meet at Edinburgh on the 17th November. A spirit of prayer and supplication was diffused throughout Scotland. Never, perhaps, had there been in the country of John Welsh, that man of prayer, such fervent and general devotion as during the week preceding the Convocation. "Not only," it was said, "are the liberties of the church at stake, but the very existence of evangelical religion." Therefore, when

these ministers had left their parishes, their flocks still continued their meetings for prayer. Even in the country villages, venerable patriarchs were to be found, who remembering that Christ has made his people a nation of priests, called publicly on the name of the Lord. "The whole multitude of the people were praying;" (Luke, i. 12.) crying "with a loud and bitter cry." (Est. iv. 1.)

The Convocation met on the morning of the 17th of December, in St. George's Church, where Dr. Chalmers preached on these impressive words: "Unto the upright, there ariseth light in darkness." (Psalm, cxii. 4.) On the evening of the same day, the deliberations, also presided over by Chalmers, commenced in another church. About five hundred ministers were present. All agreed in acknowledging, that the decisions of the civil courts were subversive of the constitution of the church, and would shortly lead to its destruction, unless a remedy could be found to prevent so great an evil.

But what was the remedy to be? In this, opinions were divided.

Some, considering that the British constitution had guaranteed the independence of the church, were desirous that this constitution should be defended, and that the church should retain her position as an establishment, until the state should be compelled to change its policy by the just indignation of the people.

But the leaders of the movement—Chalmers, Candlish, and Cunningham—showed that this course would confound civil and spiritual duties; that the church was not answerable for the integrity of the civil constitution, and, consequently, could not take upon herself to defend it; and that by doing so, she would infallibly produce collisions, tumults, and, perhaps, even revolutions.

Renouncing, therefore those political means of resistance, which had signalized the Scotland of former ages, these Christian men demanded that the church should decide upon

maintaining her own independence; and, if necessary for that purpose, should relinquish her union with the state, and all the temporal advantages the pastors received from government. The Convocation, which opened on the 17th November, was not concluded till the 24th. Several ministers had been obliged to return to their homes before the end of the meetings, nevertheless three hundred and fifty pastors signed the resolutions.

These seven days of the Convocation were a season of great spiritual refreshing. A remarkable unity, a continued spirit of faith and of prayer, characterized this Assembly. All felt that their heavenly King, according to His promise, was truly in the midst of them.

Besides the Resolutions, the Convocation agreed upon "A Memorial to the Government," and "An Address to the People of Scotland." This address was soon sent from Edinburgh into every parish, and never perhaps has a more solemn appeal been laid before a nation. The former struggles which we have recounted; with the testimonies of Knox, Melvill, Welsh, Erskine, and of so many more confessors, were eloquently recalled.

"The Church of Scotland," said these ministers, "has been honored to contend not more for the doctrine of the Redeemer's cross than for the honor of His Crown; and this constitutes her peculiar distinction amongst the churches of the Reformation." [These words contain an important truth.]

"What are the passages in your national history," they afterwards continue, "which you read with the most thrilling interest, and which you would wish to be engraven on the minds of your children? What are the scenes in your land of mountain and flood, on which you gaze with feelings too deep for utterance? Are they not the passages which record the faithful contendings of your forefathers for a pure Gospel and a free church?—are they not the scenes where many of them lie buried as martyrs in the cause of

civil and religious freedom? They won by their blood the privileges which you are called to maintain by your efforts and prayers; and would you willingly have it said by posterity, that you relinquished without a struggle the birthright of your children,—or, that in the calm and sunshine of outward prosperity, you suffered that noble vessel to go down which was reared in the tempest and rocked by the hurricane?"

Thus did the ministers of the Convocation address their people. What Scottish heart could remain unmoved?

Yet, though the House of Lords had decided, the voice of the government still remained to be heard. Would it not weigh more justly the great constitutional rights on which they were to decide?

It happened otherwise. The government, after receiving the memorial of the last Commission, returned an answer which annihilated all the hopes of the church: an answer, polite most certainly though imprudent, in which, combining what the Commission had purposely kept separate, "The Claim of Rights," regarding the spiritual independence of the church as guaranteed by the constitution, and the "Address" concerning Patronage, the British minister declared that he was obliged to reject both petitions, in order to defend the privileges of the patrons. At the same time, he accused the church of attacking the rights of the state, whereas the General Assembly was justly conscious of having triumphantly refuted so unfounded an accusation.

Perhaps, however, this misunderstanding of the government might have been expected. The English ministry, accustomed to the forms of the Episcopal Church, in which the flocks have no voice, influenced by the speeches of the Scottish nobles and patrons, who were both judges and parties in the cause, and finding as much difficulty in putting themselves in the place of those beyond the Tweed, as of those beyond St. George's Channel, could scarcely avoid mistakes. Besides this, the crown, ever since the act of

Queen Anne, had set far too high a value upon the right of nominating the ministers of more than three hundred parishes, and could not understand, that to secure the attachment of a people like the Scotch, it would be much the better way to allow them a share in church matters, and thus encourage the development of Christianity, than by reserving the right of appointing to a benefice some insignificant person recommended by a noble lord.

The adversaries of the Scottish movement likewise represented it in London as an affair of little importance, for the sake of which it was not worth while to sacrifice advantages they valued so highly. All this may explain how such a distinguished statesman as Sir James Graham could commit so great a fault. It is the greatest with which the Peel ministry can be reproached; but it is, at the same time, one of those of which the victim may say: "Ye thought evil against me; but God meant it unto good." (Gen. l. 20.)

According to the English ministry, (and this is even yet the judgment of many good men in England,) the church having infringed the law by the Veto Act, the encroachments of the civil courts that ensued, were simply a necessary and a natural re-action against the usurpations of the church. Here, in fact, lay the difficulty of the affair; and with some little intelligence, which certainly was not wanting, and a little patience, it might have been easily unravelled. But it appears that instead of taking the trouble to until the knot, the government preferred having recourse to the sword of Alexander. Even supposing the veto to be an act opposed to the constitution of the United Kingdom, which we do not think it was, the English government might have declined to recognize it, or might have demanded some modification: the church had declared her willingness to do so, and had stated this in her "Address to the people of Scotland." The government might even have required the withdrawal of the act; many of the most eminent men of the church would have agreed to do so in a spirit of concil-

iation, at the same time without sacrificing the principle itself. Yet while acting in this manner towards the church, the government should at the same time have declared that the Court of Session, first by inducing the ministers to continue their functions, after having been suspended or deprived by the highest authority of the church; and secondly, by forbidding an ecclesiastical court, under pain of civil punishments, to lay hands on certain probationers,—had done what no Scottish tribunal had ever been or could ever be allowed to do. By thus tolerating such usurpations in the civil courts, and throwing all the blame on the church, and none on the Court of Session, the government exhibited a partiality much to be regretted, and really made use of two weights and two measures; giving Scotland reason to fear, that they had determined upon the destruction of those spiritual rights for which their fathers had striven for so many centuries; and that the final aim of the cabinet of St. James's was to overthrow the independence of the Church of Scotland, and bury it forever in the crypts of the Home Office.

The Commission of the General Assembly again met, and at the same time decided upon an answer to the Government, and a petition to the House of Commons, the only one of the three powers which had not yet declared itself. In a most eloquent speech, Chalmers asserted that the evangelical body must inevitably be driven from the establishment, and should consequently prepare without delay for this serious event. "Come when it may," said he, "Scotland must not be taken by surprise, and laid helpless and hopeless at the feet of her enemies. Scotland must become an experimental garden, covered with churches and with schools."

This appeal of the venerable patriarch of Scotland was well responded to. Numerous meetings of elders, in concert with the evangelical ministers, founded a provisional committee to provide for the approaching crisis. Every thing

was prepared for the support of the pastors, and the erection of churches; and deputations were sent throughout the country, commissioned to explain to the people the great principles, for the defence of which the bark of the church was about to launch into a dangerous sea, and to sustain the terrible collision of the vessel of the state. The response of the people was instantaneous, and the deputations were everywhere enthusiastically welcomed. "The martyr spirit is yet alive in Scotland," said the deputies on their return; "Scotland's heart is still as sound as ever."

Associations, formed all over the kingdom, entered into correspondence with the Provisional Committee at Edinburgh. This committee issued weekly communications, copies of which were sent to the Provisional Associations, to the number of one hundred and fifty thousand. This mighty activity is one of the finest features of the Scottish character.

The House of Commons had not yet decided, and the cause of Scottish liberty was to find within its walls several zealous and eloquent defenders. The son of one of the Scottish peers, the Honorable Fox Maule, now Secretary-at-War, having presented to the House the petition of the Commission, clearly stated the question on the 7th of March, and the motion was eloquently defended by Mr. Rutherford, Mr. P. M. Stuart, and Mr. Campbell, of Monzie. An English member, who has now succeeded Sir James Graham in the Home Department, Sir George Grey, supported it with generosity and calmness. But it was opposed by Sir James Graham and Sir Robert Peel. Of the Scottish members of the House, there were twenty-five for the motion, and only twelve against it. Scotland was thus in favor of the liberties of the Presbyterian Church; but the English and Irish formed a majority, who voted in a contrary direction. The motion was rejected, by 211 against 76.

So voted the House of Commons. All was now over. The three powers had decided. All human tribunals had

now closed their ears against the complaint of the Church. Every thing seemed to say to her, like the prophet, "Set thy house in order, for thou shalt die." (Isaiah, xxxviii.) But there remained a refuge for the people of God within her. There remained for them an appeal to the heavenly tribunal, —to the judgment-seat of Him who "killeth and maketh alive; who bringeth down to the grave and bringeth up." (1 Samuel, ii. 6.)

From this time all hearts were raised to heaven, and all eyes were turned to the General Assembly, which was to meet in the month of May; and the government party made every effort, in order that members, favorable to the decisions of the civil courts, should form a majority in it. The motive of such endeavors is evident. If the evangelical party should be the stronger in the Assembly, the church would then, by the decision of her highest authority, formally renounce her union with the state, and the Moderates would be obliged to create a new church, which they wished by all means to avoid. The party opposed to ecclesiastical independence obtained their desired object, not, however, it would appear, without some illegal encroachments. There were also a few ministers who, when the time of trial came, were offended. When the trumpet called to battle, the courage of several cooled, and their hearts turned aside from the conflict.

VII.

THE DISRUPTION.

A GREAT dilemma was now set before the ministers and members of the Church of Scotland. "Should the church sink at once into a mere secular institution, the creature and servant of the state; or should she retain her God-given principles in all their holy and free integrity, and resign that position and those emoluments which could no longer be retained without dishonor?" It was thought by many worldly

people, that most of those who had spoken so loudly for the independence of the church, would fail at the last moment. The hour was approaching when the question would be resolved.

On Monday, the 15th of May, only three days before the opening of the Assembly, a great number of ministers and elders repaired to Edinburgh, to consult upon their final measures. Lord Aberdeen had endeavored to avert the coming storm, by proposals, against which Dr. Gordon, and Mr. Campbell, of Monzie, a member of parliament, declared themselves in the preparatory meeting, with much seriousness and energy. It was finally settled, that as soon as the General Assembly should meet, the evangelical body should protest, and then retire to form themselves into a distinct Assembly. Mr. Dunlop was intrusted with the drawing up of the protest. Thus these evangelical Christians of Scotland prepared to do what had been done three hundred and fourteen years before, by their illustrious predecessors in the famous diet of Spire. New *Protestants* were to show themselves in the church, and take their place in history, though on a less elevated platform, beside the elector of Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse, the deputy Sturm, and the prince of Anhalt. "The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be; and that which is done, is that which shall be done: and there is no new thing under the sun." (Eccl. i. 9.)

The 18th of May arrived. A bright sun was shining in the generally cloudy sky of Scotland, and announced a lovely day of spring. The great and the noble, magistrates and ministers, elders and humble Christians, men and women—drawn together, some by fervent love for the church of their fathers, and others by mere curiosity,—thronged in animated crowds the streets of the ancient capital. Holyrood, where all the year a dreary silence and a majestic void prevail, opened its gates, its courts, its anti-chambers, and its royal saloons. At last the Lord High Commissioner of her Majesty came forth with great pomp, and advanced slowly at the head of a

long procession to the cathedral of St. Giles'. There Dr. Welsh, the Moderator of the preceding Assembly, delivered an eloquent discourse on that text so full of meaning, "Let every one be fully persuaded in his own mind." (Rom. xiv. 5.)

The service over, the Lord High Commissioner and all his suite again entered the royal carriages, and all proceeded towards St. Andrew's Church, where the General Assembly was to sit.

The grandest spectacle that ever Scotland beheld was now preparing. The church was to take leave of the state. The two societies were to give each other the bill of divorcement. The multitude, everywhere eager after excitement, but which then in Edinburgh was in a great measure agitated by the noblest feelings, crowded and jostled each other in the streets between the two churches of St. Giles' and St. Andrew's. A considerable body of policemen could with difficulty open a passage through the crowd for the Queen's representative. At length the brilliant possession passed along, and then those sons of Scotland, who had looked with almost an indifferent eye upon this splendor, were thrilled on beholding the humble representatives of the oppressed church, advancing on foot, anxious, yet grave and determined, preparing to bear testimony before the great ones of the nation, and as it were, in the presence of the whole Church of Christ. This frail bark, which contained a few poor but faithful disciples, but where Christ "was in the hinder part of the ship, asleep on a pillow," (Mark, iv. 38.) moved onward through the multitude, and the agitated waves having opened for its passage, immediately closed behind it.

From an early hour in the morning, the galleries of St. Andrew's Church were filled with a crowd of spectators, who had passed many weary hours in expectation. Suddenly, a noise and bustle without announced that the moment was at hand. The measured tramp of slowly advancing steeds, the sounds of martial music, the cheers of the people, heralded the arrival of the Queen's representative. He entered, and

took his seat on the throne, surrounded by his pages and officers.

The members of Assembly entered after him and took their places in the body of the church, some on the right hand, others on the left. On the Evangelical side, there were serious looks, grave faces, and that awed and solemn countenance which characterizes men engaged in a sacred and perilous work. On the side of the Moderates, an embarrassed and foreboding look was to be observed, with the consciousness that the victory now to be won would prove, in reality, a great defeat to the church. The Moderator, David Welsh, whom God has now taken to his heavenly home, opened the meeting with a fervent prayer.

Then a pause ensued—no one spoke; no one stirred. All was silent and motionless. Thousands of anxious hearts were waiting in expectation, and every man seemed to hold his breath, as in fear of losing one of the words that were now to be uttered in this sacred place, and to decide the destiny of the Church of God.

The Moderator then took up the Protest which had been prepared, and gravely pronounced the following words, amidst the most profound and solemn silence:—

"According to the usual form of procedure, this is the time for making up the roll; but in consequence of certain proceedings affecting our rights and privileges,—proceedings which have been sanctioned by Her Majesty's government and by the legislature of the country, and more especially in respect that there has been an infringement on the liberties of our constitution, so that we could not now constitute this Court without a violation of the terms of the union between Church and State in this land, as now authoritatively declared, I must protest against our proceeding further. The reasons that have led me to this conclusion are fully set forth in the document which I hold in my hand, and which, with permission of the House, I shall now proceed to read." He then read the protest.

"We, the undersigned ministers and elders, chosen as Commissioners to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, indicted to meet this day, but precluded from holding the said Assembly by reason of the circumstances hereinafter set forth, in consequence of which a Free Assembly of the Church of Scotland, in accordance with the laws and constitutions of the said Church, cannot at this time be holden—

"Considering that the legislature, by their rejection of the Claim of Right adopted by the last General Assembly of the said Church, and their refusal to give redress and protection against the jurisdiction assumed, and the coercion of late repeatedly attempted to be exercised over the Courts of the Church in matters spiritual by the Civil Courts, have recognized and fixed the conditions of the Church Establishment, as henceforward to subsist in Scotland, to be such as these have been pronounced and declared by the said Civil Courts in their several recent decisions, in regard to matters spiritual and ecclesiastical, whereby it has been held, *inter alia*,—

"1st, That the Courts of the Church by law established, and members thereof, are liable to be coerced by the Civil Courts in the exercise of their spiritual functions, and, in particular, in the admission to the office of the holy ministry, and the constitution of the pastoral relation, and that they are subject to be compelled to intrude ministers on reclaiming congregations in opposition to the fundamental principles of the Church, and their views of the Word of God, and to the liberties of Christ's people.

"2d, That the said Civil Courts have power to interfere with and interdict the preaching of the Gospel and administration of ordinances as authorized and enjoined by the Church Courts of the Establishment.

"3d, That the said Civil Courts have power to suspend spiritual censures pronounced by the Church Courts of the Establishment against ministers and probationers of the

Church, and to interdict their execution as to spiritual effects, functions, and privileges.

"4th, That the said Civil Courts have power to reduce and set aside the sentences of the Church Courts of the Establishment, deposing ministers from the office of the holy ministry, and depriving probationers of their license to preach the Gospel, with reference to the spiritual status, functions, and privileges of such ministers and probationers —restoring them to the spiritual office and status of which the church courts had deprived them.

"5th, That the said Civil Courts have power to determine on the right to sit as members of the supreme and other judicatories of the church by law established, and to issue interdicts against sitting and voting therein; irrespective of the judgment and determination of the said judicatories.

"6th, That the said Civil Courts have power to supersede the majority of a Church Court of the Establishment, in regard to the exercise of its spiritual functions as a Church Court, and to authorize the minority to exercise the said functions, in opposition to the Court itself, and to the superior judicatories of the Establishment.

"7th, That the said Civil Courts have power to stay processes of discipline pending before Courts of the Church by law established, and to interdict such Courts from proceeding therein.

"8th, That no pastor of a congregation can be admitted into the Church Courts of the Establishment, and allowed to rule, as well as to teach, agreeably to the institution of the office by the Head of the Church, nor to sit in any of the judicatories of the Church, inferior or supreme—and that no additional provision can be made for the exercise of spiritual discipline among the members of the Church, though not affecting any patrimonial interests, and no alteration introduced in the state of pastoral superintendence and spiritual discipline in any parish, without the sanction of a Civil Court.

"All which jurisdiction and power on the part of the said Civil Courts severally above specified, whatever proceeding may have given occasion to its exercise, is, in our opinion, in itself, inconsistent with Christian liberty, and with the authority which the Head of the Church hath conferred on the Church alone.

"And further considering, that a General Assembly, composed, in accordance with the laws and fundamental principles of the Church, in part of commissioners themselves admitted without the sanction of the Civil Court, or chosen by Presbyteries composed in part of members not having that sanction, cannot be constituted as an Assembly of the Establishment without disregarding the law and the legal conditions of the same as now fixed and declared;

"And further considering, that such commissioners as aforesaid would, as members of an Assembly of the Establishment, be liable to be interdicted from exercising their functions, and to be subject to civil coercion at the instance of any individual having interest who might apply to the Civil Courts for that purpose;

"And considering further, that civil coercion has already been in divers instances applied for and used, whereby certain commissioners returned to the Assembly this day appointed to have been holden, have been interdicted from claiming their seats, and from sitting and voting therein; and certain Presbyteries have been, by interdicts directed against their members, prevented from freely choosing commissioners to the said Assembly, whereby the freedom of such Assembly, and the liberty of election thereto, has been forcibly obstructed and taken away;

"And further considering, that, in these circumstances, a free Assembly of the Church of Scotland, by law established, cannot at this time be holden, and that an Assembly, in accordance with the fundamental principles of the Church cannot be constituted in connection with the State without violating the conditions which must now, since the rejection by

the legislature of the Church's Claim of Right, be held to be the conditions of the Establishment;

"And considering that, while heretofore, as members of church judicatories ratified by law and recognized by the constitution of the kingdom, we held ourselves entitled and bound to exercise and maintain the jurisdiction vested in these judicatories with the sanction of the constitution, notwithstanding the decrees as to matters spiritual and ecclesiastical of the Civil Courts, because we could not see that the State had required submission thereto as a condition of the Establishment, but, on the contrary, were satisfied that the State, by the acts of the Parliament of Scotland, forever and unalterably secured to this nation by the Treaty of Union, had repudiated any power in the Civil Courts to pronounce such decrees, we are now constrained to acknowledge it to be the mind and will of the State, as recently declared, that such submission should and does form a condition of the Establishment, and of the possession of the benefits thereof; and that as we cannot, without committing what we believe to be sin—in opposition to God's law—in disregard of the honor and authority of Christ's crown, and in violation of our own solemn vows, comply with this condition, we cannot in conscience continue connected with, and retain the benefits of an establishment to which such condition is attached.

"We, therefore, the ministers and elders foresaid, on this, the first occasion since the rejection by the legislature of the Church's Claim of Right, when the commissioners chosen from throughout the bounds of the Church to the General Assembly, appointed to have been this day holden, are convened together, do protest, that the conditions foresaid, while we deem them contrary to and subversive of the settlement of church government effected at the Revolution, and solemnly guaranteed by the Act of Security and Treaty of Union, are also at variance with God's Word, in opposition to the doctrines and fundamental principles of the Church of Scotland, inconsistent with the freedom essential to the

right constitution of the Church of Christ, and incompatible with the government which He, as the Head of the Church, hath therein appointed distinct from the civil magistrate.

"And we further protest, that any Assembly constituted in submission to the conditions now declared to be law, and under the civil coercion which has been brought to bear on the election of commissioners to the Assembly this day appointed to have been holden, and on the commissioners chosen thereto, is not and shall not be deemed a lawful and free Assembly of the Church of Scotland, according to the original and fundamental principles thereof; and that the Claim, Declaration, and Protest of the General Assembly which convened at Edinburgh in May 1842, as the act of a free and lawful Assembly of the said Church, shall be holden as setting forth the true constitution of the said Church, and that the said Claim, along with the laws of the Church now subsisting, shall in nowise be affected by whatsoever acts and proceedings of any Assembly constituted under the conditions now declared to be the law, and in submission to the coercion now imposed on the Establishment.

"And, finally, while firmly asserting the right and duty of the civil magistrate to maintain and support an establishment of religion in accordance with God's Word, and reserving to ourselves and our successors to strive by all lawful means, as opportunity shall in God's good providence be offered, to secure the performance of this duty agreeably to the Scriptures, and in implement of the statutes of the kingdom of Scotland, and the obligations of the Treaty of Union as understood by us and our ancestors, but acknowledging that we do not hold ourselves at liberty to retain the benefits of the Establishment, while we cannot comply with the conditions now to be deemed thereto attached—we protest, that in the circumstances in which we are placed, it is and shall be lawful for us, and such other commissioners chosen to the Assembly appointed to have been this day holden, as may concur with us, to withdraw to a separate place of meeting,

for the purpose of taking steps for ourselves and all who adhere to us—maintaining with us the Confession of Faith and standards of the Church of Scotland, as heretofore understood—for separating in an orderly way from the Establishment; and thereupon adopting such measures as may be competent to us in humble dependence on God's grace and the aid of the Holy Spirit, for the advancement of His glory, the extension of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour, and the administration of the affairs of Christ's house, according to His Holy Word; and we do now, for the purpose foresaid, withdraw accordingly, humbly and solemnly acknowledging the hand of the Lord in the things which have come upon us, because of our manifold sins, and the sins of this Church and nation; but, at the same time, with an assured conviction, that we are not responsible for any consequences that may follow from this our enforced separation from an Establishment which we loved and prized—through interference with conscience, the dishonor done to Christ's crown, and the rejection of His sole and supreme authority as King in His Church."

The reading of the Protest was listened to in deep silence. When the Moderator had finished he left his chair, laid the document on the table of the Assembly, and bowing respectfully to the throne on which sat the representative of Her Majesty, gravely withdrew, and left the church. Minister after minister, elder after elder,—all that was most eminent in the Church of Scotland for piety, for zeal, and for talent, —now calmly rose and followed the Moderator, till all the benches occupied by the Evangelical members, to the left of the throne, were entirely empty. The Lord High Commissioner, whose noble heart was full of affection for the Church of Scotland, his attendants, and the whole of the Moderate party, gazed upon the spectacle with astonishment and fear. The government had been assured that there were not thirty, not even fifteen of the members of Assembly who would leave the Establishment; and now, row was added to row;

a hundred, two, three hundred, and yet more, arose, and departed. The spectators in the galleries, filled with the deepest sympathy, could hardly suppress their deep-drawn sighs and enthusiastic cheers of admiration.

The Exodus of the Church of Scotland was accomplishing, —the march of her leaders towards the door of the temple was advancing; an angel of God, though invisible, was moving before them. They had been required to rivet the chains forged by illegal resolutions. They burst those disgraceful fetters, they threw them at the foot of the throne; and poor, but free, they left those walls wherein their fathers had so hardily fought in the cause of liberty, and which powerful men were attmepting to change into a house of bondage.

On the outside of the church, the crowd was in a state of eager expectation. The excited people were only separated by a wall from the important scene now transacting within, and yet could know nothing of what was going on. Many thought that at the last hour some tardy measure of justice, granted by the government, would put an end to the difference. Others thought, that at the decisive moment, the hearts of the servants of the Church would fail them, and that they would remain, as it were, nailed to their seats. "Are they coming out?" asked some. "They *will* come:" —"They will *not* come:"—"Not *seven* will come out." Hardly were these words spoken, when the door opened, and the fathers of the Church of Scotland appeared before the multitude of their brethren. "Here they come! here they come!" was shouted on all sides. The work was done. The Church is free. "Our soul is escaped, as a bird out of the snare of the fowler; the snare is broken, and we are escaped." (Psalm cxxiv.)

Hands, hats, and handkerchiefs, were waving in the air. Not only in the street, the stairs, the doors and the windows, but even on the roofs of the houses these signs of enthusiasm were exhibited. Wherever a foot could stand,

wherever a hand could cling, was some son of Scotland and the Church, saluting with acclamations her noble defenders. The whole people were in a state of unprecedented excitement. A shout, not loud and piercing,—but a shout half-suppressed by deep emotion, a shout proceeding from the depths of the heart, resounded in the streets of the metropolis.

The ministers and elders, forming a long procession, and followed by a vast multitude, prepared to descend the hill to constitute a new Assembly. But they were not alone in taking that direction. Deputations from the Presbyterian churches of America, Ireland, and England, and from the Scottish seceders, had come, according to custom, to present to the Assembly their fraternal salutations. These deputations had to examine which of the two Assemblies represented the Church of Scotland. All of them, without hesitation, turned from the national pomp of St. Andrew's, and followed the humble footsteps of the Protesting Church. The Irish Presbyterians themselves, though supported by the English government, were not held back by the fear of seeing their *Regium Donum* imperilled. This is a witness from without which has never been retracted.

VIII.

THE FREE CHURCH.

The procession moved onward. It descended that long and spacious street which, from the heights of the New Town, leads down to the valley wherein flows the water of Leith. The immense concourse that filled the street was so closely wedged together, that it seemed impossible for the ministers to make way through it. There were neither policemen nor soldiers to force a passage; but another more powerful, more sublime agent,—a feeling of respect, of admiration and of love,—was at hand to move these masses. As if by an in-

stantaneous impulse, the crowd opened on the right and on the left, and formed in the middle of the street a long lane, down which four ministers could walk abreast. And between these double rows of the sons and daughters of Caledonia, animated with the strongest emotion, with Welsh at the head, the only one arrayed in the Geneva gown, the venerable defenders of the independence of the Church of Christ walked calmly and steadily down the beautiful declivity, on whose summit the State sat enthroned.

The vast and plain Hall of Tanfield,—the Cannon Mills, in which, two years afterwards, I myself saw the General Assembly, had been prepared for the Protesters. More than three thousand Christians were awaiting them there. Welsh opened the meeting with a solemn prayer, in which he gave thanks to God for the strength afforded by His spirit to His servants in the hour of trial. During this prayer, sobs were audible, and the most manly faces were bathed in tears. When it ended, the whole multitude stood up to sing the praises of the Lord; the first hymn of the Free Church arose to heaven, and the Angel of the Covenant offered it before the throne of God (Rev. viii. 3.)

On the motion of Dr. Welsh, Dr. Chalmers was chosen by acclamation the first Moderator of the Free Protesting Church of Scotland. Chalmers, in his opening speech, recalled the principles on which the step then taken had been founded. The Assembly received as members all the ministers who had signed the Protest, and an elder from each parish. Every thing was then prepared for signing the Deed of Demission.

This act was read in the Assembly on Wednesday, the 23d of May. All other business was suspended, that every heart might be solemnly devoted to the Lord. The roll was then called. The ministers and elders arose by tens, moved to the platform behind the Moderator's chair, and there, with steady hearts and hands, signed the act by which, for the cause of Christ, they renounced all their worldly goods, and their position in society. Many of them sacrificed all they

had, even all their living. The amount of the revenue was more than a hundred thousand pounds; which these brethren joyfully relinquished for the sake of Him who has said, "Every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands for my name's sake, shall receive an hundred-fold, and shall inherit everlasting life." (Matt. xix. 29.) No one swerved; young and old alike traced with a determined hand the few strokes which signed away their all. The execution of this act occupied five hours, and during that time, the Assembly remained in silent emotion, watching with respect the devotedness of its leaders. Four hundred and seventy-four ministers resigned their benefices, either then, or shortly afterwards; about two thousand elders adhered to the act; both numbers united, formed the majority of the office-bearers of the Church. The majority of the Church members, in full communion, was also ranged on the side of liberty.

Such was the disruption and the creation of the Free Church.

But the sacrifice then accomplished in the Hall of Tanfield was not the greatest. The ministers had to return to the mountains, to the plains, even to the remotest shores of Scotland, to bring their wives and children from their homes. The hour was at hand when Jesus was to say in every manse: "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me." (Matt. xvi. 24.) Hundreds in Scotland were then fulfilling this Christian duty, and, taking the cross upon their shoulders, were ready to exclaim, "Lord, here am I." How many scenes were then enacting enough to break the hardest heart!

In a certain part of the country, two ministers were conversing a short time before the disruption. "Do you think there is no chance of a settlement?" said the minister of the place to his friend. "We are as certain of being out, as that the sun will rise to-morrow," replied the other. A groan was heard: it came from the very heart of the mother of the

family; they had had many trials in their day; there had been cradles and coffins in their home, and the place was endeared to the mother by many associations; there was not a flower, or a shrub, or a tree, that was not dear to her—some of them were planted by the hands of those who were in their graves,—and that poor woman's heart was like to burst. But grace was mightier than nature, and when the day of trial arrived, she came forth as readily as her husband, although it was breaking her very heartstrings to leave a home where she had expected to breathe her last, and to be laid in the church-yard, among the ashes of her children.

In another instance, there was a venerable mother in Christ, who had gone to the place in the days of her youth, when it was a wilderness, but who with her husband had turned it into an Eden. Her husband had died there. Her son was now the minister. That venerable widow and mother, like Anna, the daughter of Phanuel, had seen the snows and sorrows of eighty years accumulate upon her head, and like an aged tree which has fixed its roots deeply in the soil, she was attached to this home of her youth by the dearest affections. All her anxieties, her prayers to God, were for two things: either that the church should come to a right settlement with the state; or, if that should fail, that then her son should do his duty. The disruption came; all was to be given up, and this venerable Mother in Israel was the first to go forth; and she found in her new home, by the blessing of Christ, more health and happiness than she had enjoyed for a long time before.

Some time ago, a minister was walking by moonlight with another, Mr. Guthrie, who is restoring manses to the servants of God throughout Scotland. The two companions were passing before the beloved home which the former of them had left for the cause of truth. No light shone from the house, and no smoke rose above the roof. Pointing to it in the moonlight, Mr. Guthrie said, "Oh, my friend, it was a noble thing to leave that house." "Ah yes," he replied,

"it was a noble thing; but for all that it was a bitter thing. I shall never forget the night I left that house till I am laid in the grave. When I saw my wife and children go forth in the gloaming, when I saw them for the last time leave our own door, and when in the dark I was left alone, with none but my God in that house, and when I had to take water and quench the fire on my own hearth, and put out the candle in my own house, and turn the key against myself, and my wife, and my little ones that night—God, in his mercy, grant that such a night I may never see again!—it was a noble thing to leave the manse, and I bless God for the grace which was given to me; but for all that, it was a cruel and bitter night to me."

In another place, in the Highlands, when the last evening had arrived, a poor minister placed his wife and children in a rough cart, and walking behind them, began to cross the mountains. A heavy snow storm was then raging on that elevated spot. The mountain was white, although it was summer time, and the sky was dark. This poor family went on amidst the driving snow and cutting wind. "We knew not where to find a place to dwell in," said the minister; "but never did I know so much of the peace of God as I did that night. Thus are fulfilled the Saviour's precious promises: 'The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall not want.'"

The ministers, thus obliged to leave their manses and their churches, were not idle. On the first Sunday after the Assembly these faithful Servants of the Word of God were preaching everywhere—in halls, in barns, or in the fields, to great multitudes, who listened with eagerness to their words. The prayers and discourses were filled with a renewed spirituality. The Comforter Himself taught his people. Never, perhaps, had the Gospel been so powerfully proclaimed in Scotland, to so many hearers hungering for the Word of Life. From Sabbath to Sabbath, nay, even from day to day, the faithful met together, the ministers preached, and Jesus Christ was glorified.

How can we refuse a just tribute of admiration to the constitution and government of Britain, which thus protected in their full extent the liberties of the exiled ministers, and of their congregations? Yet, alas! in many places the ill-will of the landlords has taken the place of the ill-will of the government. While the flag of modern freedom has been hoisted on the palace of Victoria, the old and faded colors of feudal despotism still hang, though tattered and drooping, over the ancient turrets of some lordly mansions. At Canobie, the Free Christians, driven by the landlord from a waste land, where they had at first assembled, removed to the high road, and turned it into a church. At Wanlockhead, the congregation consisting of two hundred and seventy-four communicants, met in a wild ravine, amid rugged mountains, five hundred yards from the village. At Torosay, in the island of Mull, a gravel pit served for a temple. At Duthill, in which there were a thousand adherents of the Free Church, they met in a wood of Scotch firs, situated in a hollow. And not only at the first moment, but up to this very hour, even during the last severe and tempestuous winter, women, children, and aged men of the above-mentioned churches, and many others besides, have had no other shelter than the arch of heaven. "Pray that your flight may not be in winter," said Jesus: yet, one season after another, the same distresses have afflicted our brethren, and that, not under the mild sky of Palestine, but in the icy atmosphere of Caledonia: and the days are not yet shortened. In many places they preached on the sands of the shore, in the place left free by the retiring tide, and which belongs to no one but the ocean,—for once, more kind and generous than man. In another place, in a deep gully, where the cliffs are some hundred feet high, a hollow has been closed in from the sea by a barrier of rocks, down a precipice, where Claverhouse himself would not have sought his victims; and there, a minister with his congregation has raised his voice to Heaven during two years. The waves of the Atlantic, roaring around

them, have afforded them a shelter which their haughty landlords, reclining softly in their London palaces, have dared to deny them. For the Elect's sake, May the Lord shorten these days! (Mark, xiii. 20.)

The ministers were often but little better lodged during the week, than their flocks were at the hour of worship during the Lord's Day. One minister and his family were so straitened for accommodation, that when they would unite in their family devotions, they had not even room to kneel in their miserable dwelling. Some ministers live in places as damp as cellars, where a candle will not burn. One is obliged to sit all day with his great-coat on; another sees the curtains of his bed shake at night, like the sails of a ship in a storm. A third took refuge in a house open to every wind of heaven. On getting up one morning, he wondered to find it more comfortable than usual; and looking up, he discovered that a heavy shower of snow had fallen, and stopped up all the crevices of the roof. The Lord thus makes the snow *his minister* to shelter his servants.

Yet though the bush was burning it was not consumed. *Nec tamen consumebatur.* While these things were in progress, immense efforts were making by the evangelical people of Scotland. True, it might be said, "not many mighty, not many noble," were among them. (1 Cor. i. 26.) Farmers, artisans, shop-keepers, and small proprietors, all of them living by labor, and obliged to use great economy—these, with a few rich merchants, and two or three noblemen, form the Free Church of Scotland. Nevertheless, churches were built throughout the land, with the assistance of some foreign brethren, particularly from America; and after a time, six hundred of these pretty Free Churches, which everywhere arrest the attention of a stranger in Scotland, always pleasing, and yet modest in their aspect, arose as monuments of the freedom and piety of her people. During the first year, the contributions paid into the hands of the treasurer, amounted to 418,719*l.* The total sum gathered during the first three

years was 1,001,479*l.* 17*s.*, besides considerable sums collected for local purposes. Never perhaps was more mightily fulfilled these words of the Lord:—"Thou shalt have delight in the Almighty, and thou shalt have plenty of silver" (Job, xxii. 23.); and "There is no end of thy treasures." (Isaiah, ii. 7.)

In the month of March last, the number of congregations and associations adhering to the Free Church amounted to eight hundred and twenty-three; that is a considerable increase, but there were one hundred and sixty-nine who had no minister. Happily, however, the number of Divinity students at the Free College is sufficient speedily to supply these vacancies.

Notwithstanding her own necessities, the Free Church does not confine herself to Scotland. She sends her missionaries to distant lands, to the heathen of the Ganges, to the Jews of Europe and of Palestine, and ministers to the numerous colonies of Britain. Nay, more, one of her first cares has been to fraternize with the Evangelical churches of all countries; and we know with what generosity, notwithstanding her poverty, and her own wants, she has stretched forth a helping hand towards the evangelization of continental Europe.

Here we stop giving thanks to the King of Sion for this work which His wisdom and His love have accomplished in Scotland; and praying Him to grant, that the Word of faith, of life, and of liberty, which He has so abundantly shed, and which He has commissioned this Church to diffuse over the world, may become one of those streams which "issue out from under the threshold of the House of the Lord," and of which the Holy Spirit says, that "all whithersoever the waters shall come, shall live." (Ezek. xlvii. 1. 9.)

One day, a few months since, in the north of Scotland, a traveller was at the foot of Benmore Assynt, near the lake of Assynt, which stretches its waters for fourteen miles among the most romantic mountains. The traveller was contemplating the castle of M'Leod, whose ancient walls rise

close by the side of the lake. "There," said he, "is the place where the Marquis of Montrose, an old renegade and apostate, met with a renegade's fate! He betrayed the cause of truth, and was himself betrayed into the hands of those who executed him in Edinburgh." But another building attracted his attention still more; the parish church, overshadowed by two trees which grew in the church-yard, and were the only ones he had seen in two or three days' travelling. He asked some persons who were standing by, how many people attended the church? The reply was, "The minister attends, and his wife attends, and two or three servants, and the parochial schoolmaster."—"You do not mean to say that these are all?" said he. "Why," was the answer, "there is not a body—not a body—not a body more!" In fact, the whole congregation had joined the Free Church. The traveller then went into the church-yard, but there was no sign of a road into the church; it was all overgrown with grass. On looking through the window, he saw the seats and pews all covered with dust; nowhere could he perceive the marks of human hands, except in the pulpit and the minister's seat. "I saw it with my own eyes," said he. "All this congregation had left the walls where their fathers worshipped, rather than not be steadfast in their struggles and their trials." Then the traveller, (Mr. Guthrie,) raising his eyes to the mountains that lifted up their lofty heads far above him, exclaimed, "How vain is the expectation of our enemies: never will they succeed in breaking down the Free Church! She will stand there, as firm as her own naked mountains; and that powerful lord who is master of this country, from the one sea to the other, may as soon remove Benmore Assynt, as he will weaken the attachment of our people to our cause and to freedom!"

We accept the omen. It is not the flock of Assynt alone that stands as firm as Benmore; it is the whole Free Church of Scotland; the whole Assembly and Church of the Firstborn, spread over the wide world itself. Benmore may trem-

ble; the Alps themselves may quake; and our own Mont Blanc, removed by the Mighty Hand which one day shall shake both the Heavens and the Earth, may bow its colossal head, and fall into our lake; "The mountains shall depart, and the hills be removed; but my kindness shall not depart from thee; neither shall the covenant of my peace be removed, saith the Lord, that hath mercy on thee."

But if there are promises of God, man also has his duties. The Church of Scotland has lately given proofs of mighty energy. Fidelity to her Divine Chief, fidelity to her forefathers and to her martyrs, unshaken faith, Christian life, ardent charity, unbounded generosity, incessant activity,—such is the example which a few humble sons of Scotland have lately set to the Christian world; and their example has already found imitators in our own country,—in Vaud. But watchfulness is never more necessary than on the day succeeding a victory. We all know what is meant by the recoil of artillery. The gun that has the heaviest charge, and sends its bullet to the greatest distance, is the piece that will recoil the most. A great forward movement is usually followed by one in a contrary direction. "That is nothing," recently exclaimed a Frenchman,* eminent in the church; "that is nothing, provided we imitate the artillery-men,—restore the cannons to their place, and load and fire again."

In speaking of Scotland we have already said: "A revival is generally followed by a lethargy, and a great elevation by a great fall." Much still remains to be done by the Christians of the Free Church. We desire to see all Scotland —that noble country—united as one heart to combat under the standard of Christ and of the fathers. But this is not all. The cause of the liberty, and purity, and life of the church must make the tour of the globe, and be everywhere established. Let us all, then, gather courage, perseverance, and strength! Let there be no recoil—no shrinking back!

* M. le Comte Agenor de Gasparin.

APPENDIX.

Note A.

CONTRIBUTION TO THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

PROTESTANTISM IN THE GERMAN PROVINCES OF RUSSIA.

Few events in the contemporary history of the chuch appear to me of greater interest than the struggle at present going on between the Protestant churches in Russia, and that Oriental giant, the power of the Greek church and of the Autocrat, which threatens to overwhelm them. Notwithstanding the indifference (this is the mildest term I can use) with which a former communication of mine, on the subject of these churches, has been received in England; these events are of such a nature, appealing to the heart of every evangelical Christian, that I think it my duty to recur to them. I will first repeat the letter I wrote in 1846, to the president of the Evangelical Alliance, and afterwards add more circumstantial details.

*Letter to Sir Culling Eardley Smith, Bart.**

"Sir Culling,

* * * * * *

"The Duchies of Livonia, Courland, and Esthonia, were subdued by the Russians towards the commencement of the

* This letter, written in French, was translated into English, with a trifling error, which has been here corrected. It appeared in several periodicals.

last century, after a most bloody war, in the course of which all the cities were destroyed, with the exception of Riga, Pernau, and Revel. A treaty made in 1710, secured to them the Evangelical religion, according to the Augsburg Confession, as the only religion of the country; and further treaties between Sweden (to whom these duchies formerly belonged) and Russia, such as that of Nystaedt in 1721, and of Aboer in 1743, moreover declared, that the church was to be preserved, such as it then existed. Any other mode of worship, excepting in the private houses of the foreign ambassadors, with closed doors, was illegal; and the children of mixed marriages were brought up Protestants. During the time of Peter the Great, these treaties were observed. Under the reign of the Empresses Elizabeth and Catherine II., they began to be neglected; and in 1794, a ukase, issued in 1721, with respect to the Swedish prisoners of war who were carried to Siberia, was applied to these provinces; by virtue of which the children of mixed marriages were obliged to be brought up in the Greek religion.

"But under the present emperor, the violation of the treaties has made immense progress; and, instead of the Conservative principles which one might have expected to predominate in that government, the most Radical and even Revolutionary principles seem to prevail, little as such could be expected from an emperor of Russia.

"In 1837 or 1838, a Greek bishop was fixed at Riga, where there had never yet been one. For a short time he remained inactive; but soon his emissaries were sent round the country to labor for converts.

"In 1841, while these provinces suffered under a severe famine, the poor people were assured, that if they became converts to the Greek religion they should be removed into a fertile district in the south of Russia, where they should be exempted from taxes, and from military service. They came to Riga in crowds, from the wish to be removed into these districts: the movement extended throughout the

greater part of Livonia: the peasants refused to work; and the excitement rose to such a pitch, that military force was obliged to be called in to restore tranquillity. The Greek bishop and his clergy, the authors of these troubles, were removed indeed from Riga, but were promoted to places of greater importance. The bishop's successor at first conducted himself peaceably; only the Russian Catechism and Liturgy was translated into the language of the country. (Esthonian and Lithuanian.)

"In 1845, a Russian, named Michaelof, steward to a noble of the country, having committed a considerable robbery, and being discovered, hanged himself to avoid the public punishment of his crime. He was found, recovered, and sent to St. Petersburg in order to be proceeded against. As he understood the language of Lithuania, it was thought he might be useful in the country: the prosecution was withdrawn; they made him a Russian priest, and sent him back to Lithuania, where he became, under the direction of the bishop, the principal agent in the conversions. They renewed the same promises made some years before. While the first time none of the peasants had become Greeks, they hastened now to anoint all that presented themselves; having made them sign petitions in the Russian language, which they could not understand—in which they thought they were asking the protection of the bishop for their temporal interests, but where, in fact, they made them seek to be united to the Greek Church.

"In February, 1845, a Greek church was established at Riga for the proselytes, where the service was held in the forenoon, according to the Greek rites, in the language of the country; in the afternoon, the service was according to the form of worship of the Moravian Brethren, to whom the converts were before attached. Michaelof was the priest of this church. At first each proselyte was richly rewarded; now the rate is thirty copeks (about one shilling). Michaelof traversed the country, provided with money to anoint with-

out delay all those who wished it; at the same time, a German called Burger, attached to the governor-general, traversed other districts to excite the same movement. It is reported that the Greek agents were provided with a magic lantern, by means of which they showed them gigantic cows and sheep, telling them that such were the animals of the country promised to them. The images, vases, and sacerdotal ornaments required in the Russian worship, were conveyed in a car; and the governor-general ordered that each proprietor should give the best place he was able to celebrate the Greek worship: they there fixed their pictures, &c., and anointed all who presented themselves. The Greek clergy recognize Protestant baptism, but they complete it by unction. By means of this roving church, as it has been called, sometimes even 300 men have been anointed in one day.

"They say to the peasants (and prove to them, by quoting Daniel xi. 38, 39., and xii. 1.), that the German Protestants were rent from the ancient Christian faith, and had fallen under the power of Antichrist, and that the Greek priest Michaelof was the great prince Michael, spoken of in Daniel xii., who fights for his people; and that those only, who cause themselves to be inscribed in Michaelof's book, would be delivered from the power of Antichrist.

"At Dorpat, and in the neighborhood, thousands thus presented themselves to the Greek priest; several amongst them being drunk, he sent to Petersburg to inquire what he ought to do in such a case; one of the members of the Senate, attached to the department of foreign worship, ('des cultes etrangers,') answered, that these people must be accepted, in whatever state they presented themselves.

"The movement was almost exclusively confined to the men—the women were opposed to it. They pulled off the crosses that had been hung round their husbands' necks, trampled the images under foot, and would not allow their new-born infants to be baptized. All the children of the

converts, under seven, are considered as belonging to the Greek Church; the converts are taught to make the sign of the cross; they are instructed in some outward practices; but religious instruction, in the right sense, is not thought of. At the time of their conversion, they make them sign a declaration in the Russian language, by which they declare that it is not for temporal interests that they have changed their religion.

"Those who have become Greeks by anointing are definitively lost to Protestantism: whoever sought to bring back a man who had been attached to the Greek Church by anointing would encounter the most severe trouble.

"The Greek religion, which had been interdicted in these provinces by treaty, is now publicly called 'the ruling religion;' and the Lutheran religion, which was alone to be professed, is now only called a tolerated church.

"The latest journals announce, that the efforts continue for converting the Protestants of these countries. A member of the Russian Senate, who has distinguished himself in the labors undertaken to re-unite the Roman Catholics to the Greek Church, said, if he had only a 'carte blanche,' he would undertake, in three years, to re-unite to the Greek religion all the inhabitants of the three provinces of Livonia, Courland, and Esthonia. Up to this time they have labored principally in the first of these (which is the largest) with a view to convert it.

"The three provinces contained, in 1831, 1,500,000 inhabitants; since that time the population has greatly increased.

"No doubt a voice must be raised against these efforts; but Protestant ministers are forbidden to speak of the differences of Confessions, or to strengthen their parishioners beforehand against adhering to the Greek Church. The Russians themselves are agitated by these conversions: some peasants of the governments of Witebok and Pleskow, although already Greeks, have asked to be registered, so

that they might belong, they said, 'to the new religion, by which lands are obtained.'

"A few of the proselytes evince a bitter repentance, and have asked the Governor-general's permission to return to their religion: he has sought to calm them, without granting their request, which, in fact, would be impossible, as I have said; other proselytes show great obduracy and contempt: 'all religions are alike indifferent to us; and if we have that of the Emperor, he will know well how to protect us and give us the lands of the nobles.'

"Unfortunately, the Protestants themselves have faults to reproach themselves with. We must distinguish three classes of persons in this country:—

"1st, The country people or peasants, who are natives of the country, and speak Esthonian and Lettois; 2d, The nobility, who are of German origin, who speak German, and are descended from the Teutonic Knights who conquered the country seven or eight centuries ago; 3rd, The Moravian Brethren, who came into these provinces about a century ago, and at a time when faith was nearly extinguished there, as it was throughout the whole Continent. They revived piety there, and acquired numerous adherents, the greatest number of whom are to be found among the original inhabitants of the country. It is reckoned that 40,000 Livonians are members of the Moravian Society."

"The Lutheran pastors, vexed by seeing the greatest part of their flocks joining the Moravian meetings, caused the peasants to be forbidden to attend these meetings. The Government and the Greek clergy fomented this division between the Lutherans and Moravians: they then profited by it; and the Bishop of Riga was delighted to permit, in his new church, meetings which were everywhere else prohibited. The result was, that people attached to the Moravians, (who are the most pious in the country,) went to be registered, in order that they might become Greeks; and their example has had a great influence upon their fellow-

citizens. The influence of the Marovians has been good, as relates to the pious sentiments of the heart; but it appears that they have taught their adherents to attach little importance to outward forms of the church, so that these have passed easily from the Protestant to the Greek form.

"The people are thus irritated at the same time against their lords and against their pastors, both of whom are Germans. They look upon the former as opposed to their temporal interests, and to the latter as opposed to their spiritual interests; and blindly throw themselves into the arms of the Russians and Greek clergy.

"The nobility and the pastors begin to feel their duties; several amongst them have done so for a long time; but the actual tribulation appears to have opened the eyes of those who, until the present moment, had them closed. They seek to be reconciled to the people, and to do them good; they would wish to keep them in the Evangelical faith, but it is to be feared it is too late.

"Pious Christians in these countries—and they are pretty numerous—are greatly afflicted; they cry to God; they meet for prayer; they ask their brethren to intercede for them at the throne of grace; but they are persuaded that they can in no other way help them.

"These are the most faithful subjects of the Russian empire; when there were revolutions in Russia, they were orderly and quiet, knowing that God requires obedience to the higher powers; and they would, therefore, now fear any proceeding, that could call in question their loyalty and obedience to their sovereign.

"The only object of this letter, is, to beg of you to communicate to the brethren assembled in London, the dangers which threaten to uproot three of the most ancient Protestant Churches of Europe; and to commend this object to the prayers of all. I know not whether you will be able to do more.

"MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ."

The limits of a letter did not permit me, in writing to my honorable friend, Sir Culling Eardley, to enter further into particulars. I intend to do so in this place. But wishing to remain an impartial historian, I content myself with quoting some most credible documents upon which my statements are founded. This narrative will, therefore, be composed essentially of extracts: its authenticity will thus be unquestionable, and it perhaps may not lose in interest by this circumstance.

In speaking of impartiality, I do not mean to say that I am undecided in this contest between the Greeks and the Lutherans, between the Russians and the Livonians. All my sympathy is with the latter. But there is another struggle besides,—that between the Moravians and the Lutherans,—and in this it is more difficult to decide. In some respects I lean towards the Moravians. They have in their favor two causes very dear to me,—those of piety, and of freedom. But we must render unto every one his due. There is also much to be said in favor of the Lutherans; and at this time, when the Protestant Church of Livonia is engaged in so terrible a conflict with an antagonist so powerful, who can refuse to her this just tribute of respect, compassion, and love?

I.

THE LUTHERANS AND THE MORAVIANS.

The community of Hernhutt has exercised its Christian activity in the Germanic duchies of Russia ever since the earliest times of its formation. A dead orthodoxy was then reigning there, and the Moravian Brethren (whom the church of Christ has always reckoned among her most valuable witnesses) sought to win souls to the Saviour. Christian David first visited the Duchies in 1729. Nitchmann went thither in 1731, and the excellent Count Zinzendorf, that disciple of

Christ, in whom the features of St. Paul and St. John were blended together, repaired to Revel in 1736.

The Lutheran Church soon opposed the work of the Brethren; and in 1744 an act of Consistory was decreed, forbidding the Moravian laborers from being received into a church without the permission of the Consistory. This, however, could not impede the Moravians, since, conformably to their principles, they were only to offer themselves to the national ministers, as *assistants* in bringing souls to Christ, carefully abstaining from any infringement of ecclesiastical order.

Nevertheless, difficulties soon presented themselves. We will here quote a report made to the Synod of Linden, on the 12th June, 1845, by one of the most respected ministers of that country. But we will previously communicate a few remarks, which were sent to us in a private letter, in reference, to this valuable document :—"This report," says a Livonian correspondent, "has been communicated to the elders of the United Brethren, and they have received it with all the charity and impartiality which was to be expected from true disciples of Christ. They have not given utterance to the least contradiction, to the slightest blame; but they assert, that they well understand that the interference of a third party in the care of souls must be most painful to a faithful pastor; adding, that they would not themselves willingly be placed in the situation of such a pastor, and manifesting the desire of seeing a good understanding restored between the Moravians and the Lutherans."

We now come to what is said on the Lutheran and Moravian discussions in the official Report made to the Synod of Linden :—

"The National Church has reason to complain that the (Moravian) Brethren have overstepped the limits prescribed to them; that they have established an ecclesiastical and isolated agency of their own, and have thus brought about a pernicious separatism. The National Church may have cause to reproach herself for having, by her dead orthodoxy, and

afterwards by her decided rationalism and worldly indifference, occasioned this state of things. Yet, since the life-giving breath of God, more than ten years ago, awoke her from her slumber, she could no longer keep silence on this subject."*

An interference of the civil power seems to have had some influence over the circumstances in question. "In 1817, the emperor granted a letter of privilege (Frey Brief) to the Moravian Church for Livonia and Esthonia. By this act the Protestant Church beheld her unity endangered. In fact, this church had hitherto been as one, independent in all essential matters of the heterodox (Greek) power of the state. Now, the church of the Brethren (which doubtless belongs to the Evangelical Church) was entirely separated, in her administration and her representation, from the Evangelical Church of the country, and placed directly under the protection of a civil and heterodox ministry. This heterodox state soon found it to be its interest to put in practice, with respect to these two branches of the same same tree, the maxim, *Divide et impera.* The Lord has sent such judgments upon the Evangelical Church in order to save the one that may be enabled still to continue such. His judgments against Judah and Israel were according to the decrees of his righteousness, but also according to those of his grace."† We will only add, that if the Moravians were desirous of the privilege which the state then granted them, they probably were so on account of the difficulties thrown in their way by the Lutheran Church.

Between 1830 and 1834, a new life began in the churches of Livonia. "Amidst the judgments that weighed her down, the church was reviving according to the ancient adage, *Ecclesia pressa, ecclesia victrix.* The Lord had raised up within her faithful servants, preachers of his gracious coun-

* Report made to the Synod of Linden, 12th June, 1845.

† Letter of a Pilgrim to the Heavenly Canaan (Eines Mitpilgers ins Himmlische Canaan).

sels. But a new generation of pastors having entered into office, found the mass of the people lying in ignorance, indifferent as to salvation, like scattered and wandering sheep. Only a small number of them were anxious as to their eternal salvation; but these Christians, attached to the directors and the deacons of the Moravian Brethren generally, considered the pastors of the Evangelical Church (without making much distinction among them) as unbelievers, who filled the ministerial office only for the sake of providing for their temporal wants."*

We return to the Report of the Synod of Linden;—

"The Moravian deacons, instead of seeking kindly intercourse with the Livonian pastors, rather avoided them; and latterly, it was precisely with the most evangelical of the Lutheran ministers that they were on the worst terms; while they were on a very friendly footing with those of the pastors who were still imbued with the spirit of the last century. It cannot be denied that many of the Moravian laborers possessed extensive knowledge, and even valuable gifts; but the church cannot approve of some of their views. 'We are the good seed,' said they; 'those who are not Moravians are the tares. Hernhutt is the true church, the city set on a hill, the church of the first-born; the Lutheran and the other churches form the church of this world.'"†

An ever-increasing opposition was thus formed by the Lutherans against the Moravians, and it must be owned, this opposition frequently proceeded from feelings very contrary to the Gospel. They falsely confounded the religion of the Moravians with pietism and mysticism; they called all truly evangelical Christians Moravians or Hernhutters. The Lutherans often acted quite otherwise than St. Paul; they took counsel of flesh and blood. They desired to forbid the free assemblies of the faithful, the free prayers of Christian

* Letter of a Pilgrim to the Heavenly Canaan (Eines Mitpilgers in-Himmlische Canaan).

† Report to the Synod of Linden.

people, the industry of the Moravian laborers. Thus the Lutheran Church exhibited another instance of that intolerance to which a predominant church is so easily prone. In this, every evangelical Christian will not hesitate to side with the Moravians, and to plead their cause, which was that of liberty and piety.

II.

THE CONVERSIONS TO THE GREEK CHURCH.

The Livonian Church was punished for her intolerance; for soon afterwards conversions to the Greek Church were commenced within her pale.

"There were at Riga among the Lettes* several Moravians, who had come thither to work at their trades, or in manufactories. The Moravian deacon, Neumann, presided at their meetings; but these people were discontented, because every thing was not done according to the usual manner. They consequently applied to the Lutheran ministers of the town. One of these, the Pastor Frey, allowed them meetings, which he either conducted himself, or caused to be conducted; but learning that the proceedings of one of these meetings had not been according to his wish, he put a stop to them. These people then addressed themselves to the Greek bishop, at the instigation, it appears, of two men, Charles Ernst, and Peter Ballohd, the latter of whom had formerly been a Moravian Evangelist laborer. The men who went to the bishop related in triumph to the deacon, Neumann, that the bishop had received them very courteously; that he had asked for their books, which he had returned some time after, saying, that they were very good

* It is well known that the Lettes form the mass of the population in Lithuania, in Esthonia, in Courland, in Semi-Galle, especially in the country parts. They belong to the Lithuanian race. The Lettish language has two principal dialects, the pure Lettish and the Semi-Gall.

ones, and he had permitted them to hold their assemblies on Sundays, at the same hour as the churches. It is even added, that he gave them a paper, which they were to show in case the police should be inclined to disturb them. At the sight of this paper, it was said, 'the director of the police would take off his hat.'"*

Such was the first phasis of these events; now comes the second.

"About the end of February, or the beginning of March, (1845), a report was all at once noised through the town (Riga) that a petition for the founding of a Greek Lettish church had been presented. On further inquiries, this much was afterwards ascertained on the subject:—A Lettish petition, signed by eleven Lettes, had been transmitted to the bishop, to the following purport. The petitioners desired to come over to the Orthodox church (*pareisitiz ziga*), on condition that a separate church should be assigned to them, and a separate service in the Lettish language; that Ballohd should be given them as *Mahzitais* (pastor), and Charles Ernst, as director of the church; that they should be allowed to use their Lettish hymns, &c. This petition was translated into Russian by the bishop's secretary, and the petitioners were requested to allow their signatures to be legalized by the police. It was ascertained, that besides the eleven subscribers, about an equal number of Lettes had appeared before the police; that one of them, being spokesman, had complained of the Lutheran pastors of the town, stating, that they would not allow them liberty as to their faith, and adding, that many others (three hundred, according to some accounts) had the same intentions as themselves."†

The report laid before the Synod of Linden, 12th June,

* Memorial of Professor Ulmann. We must not confound him with the Dr. Ullmann of Heidelberg, mentioned elsewhere. The one now spoken of was a professor in a Russian university.

† Professor Ulmann's Memorial.

1845, contains exactly the same facts. It is unnecessary to repeat them.

It must here be observed, that according to the documents now before us, the people who, in the German duchies of Russia, are attached to the Moravians, may be arranged under three categories. One of these documents has the following statement respecting this:—"The church of the Brethren does not, in these duchies, form distinct communities, as at Hernhutt, Neuwied, &c. The Brethren are in *Diaspora* (dispersion); they are members of the predominant church, and attend worship with it. But they have besides meetings among themselves in the different parishes, conducted by directors or readers, who are themselves under the rule of the deacons of the church of the Brethren. These meetings are of two kinds, the larger or public, and the smaller or select. All who desire to be edified may attend the larger meetings. But as to the smaller ones, those only are admitted who, after a formal reception, have become members of the Church of the Brethren in *Diaspora*. Those who have long attended the larger assemblies, and who are recommended by the directors, may apply for membership. Nevertheless, they are received only when the lot has decided in their favor. This custom has been vigorously attacked by the Protestant Church. Yet we must distinguish from these church members, (these brethren in *Diaspora*,) those who inhabit places where there is a Moravian church, such as Hernhutt and Neuwied, in Germany, and Sarepta, in Russia. These latter are the Hernhutters properly so called. With the exception of the Moravian deacons sent to Livonia, by the Conference of the Elders, we find in these duchies but few Moravians of this description."*

The same document contains the following information, as to the fact of the petition.

"The eleven Lettes who applied to the Greek Bishop of Riga, in order to remove from the Evangelical to the Greek

* Letter of a Pilgrim to the Heavenly Canaan.

Church, were inhabitants of Riga. They were men who had at least frequently attended the public assemblies of the Church of the Brethren. As to the question whether they had been formally admitted Members of the Church of the Brethren in *Diaspora*, this cannot be ascertained with regard to every individual, as there exists no official list of the members. But in the official deeds (*in officiellen Schreiben**) they are designated as *Members in Diaspora*. The motive which these eleven Lettes state officially as the reason of their conversion, strengthens the supposition, that they were all members of the Church of the Brethren in *Diaspora:* for they complain, in their petition, that the Lutheran pastors of Riga prevented them from holding their meetings among themselves, 'after the manner of the Church of the Brethren;' and if they wished to enter within the pale of the Church, it was because an impostor of the Greek Confession, a man convicted of theft, Michaelof, had told them that in the Greek Church, they would be allowed their meetings in the Lettish language, after the manner of the Church of the Brethren."†

The work of proselytism by the Greek Church extended more and more. We continue our extracts:—

"The proselytism of the bishop, particularly by means of Charles Ernst, still continued. This latter was indefatigable: he visited people, and induced them to give in their names, as being desirous of obtaining from the bishop the liberty of holding their Hernhutt assemblies. When any one consented to this, his name was subscribed. . . . . We are certainly informed, that forty Lettes received the unction on the 29th of April, in the bishop's chapel. Previous to Easter, a Russian church, that of the Cemetery of Riga, had been assigned to the Lettes. In this church there

* The author probably means the acts of the government, or of the Greek Church, where the converts are not individually, but collectively mentioned.

† Letter of a Pilgrim.

was a Greco-Lettish worship, and Moravian meetings, and people were summoned to both kinds of assemblies in the same manner. The author of this memorial, and other persons worthy of credence, are themselves cognizant of the fact. Michaelof, having become a Greek priest, conducted the Greek worship according to the Greek liturgy, in the Lettish language. In the same place, Ballohd presided over the Moravian meetings, in which they sang, and read sermons taken from Lutheran books; and in this manner were the people attracted and led astray. On Easter Sunday, at the afternoon service, the bishop attended a meeting of this kind. He walked through the Assembly, remained for a quarter of an hour behind the Iconostas, and again walked through the Assembly; his hands were kissed, and he gave the blessing."*

We will follow this account no further. Every one knows that the conversions from Protestantism to the Greek Church have since made considerable progress. It is enough to have seen their commencement.

III.

THE SYNOD, OR PEACE.

It can be doubted by no one, that these conversions have caused great sorrow to the worthy elders of Hernhutt, and all other pious and enlightened Moravians. It is sufficient to be acquainted with the living Christianity of these brethren, to be certain that no one, either within the Russian duchies, or elsewhere, would be more grieved than they were, to see Protestants leaving the Scriptural worship, in order to go over to the adoration of legends and pictures. We are even convinced, (though the documents we have before us say nothing of the fact,) that the conversions which are now taking place are especially, if not exclusively, among

* Memorial of Professor Ulmann.

those Protestants who are in no way belonging to the Moravian church. But it is easy to understand, that the facts stated in the documents we have quoted, must have rendered the intercourse between the ministers of the National Church and the Moravian Brethren more unpleasant than ever to both.

To consider what was to be done with regard to this matter, was one of the objects of the Synod which assembled at Linden, the 12th June, 1845. There existed among many of the Lutherans a very decided feeling, that the best way would be "to break connection entirely with the agents of the community of the Brethren, and to establish in the Lutheran parishes services of a nature calculated to satisfy the adherents of the Moravians."*

But though there were some St. Peters among them, there were also some St. Johns. The pious author of the Report we have often quoted, who was a member of this Synod, advanced a very different opinion. This is what he says: "Never can I give my vote, that the Brethren should be requested to withdraw themselves, by saying to them, 'Depart from us.' It is unlikely, very unlikely, that the Brethren will go away; and were they even to do so, it is doubtful whether peace would be thus restored to the church. It is doubtful whether each one of our pastors possesses the gifts, the prudence, and the charity requisite to conduct these meetings, and to satisfy those who frequent them, after the German laborers have withdrawn. It is doubtful whether the departure of the Moravian Brethren may not bring about a directly opposite result to that which is desired, and engender a separatism which it will be still more difficult to destroy."†

This pious minister then proceeds to examine the means to be adopted; and what he says on this subject is too beautiful, too well calculated to display the spirit which animates

* Memorial of Professor Ulmann.

† Report made to the Synod of Linden.

many of the leaders of the Lutheran Church in Livonia, and too worthy of being imitated in other countries, for us not to feel great pleasure in quoting it.

"What is then to be done?" he says to the Synod. "This, in my opinion, is the first thing we have to do; a thing which is absolutely necessary, and which cannot fail of being a most powerful means. It is that we, the preachers and ministers of the work of reconciliation, should preach Christ with living power, not only by our words, but also by our behavior; and that we should devote ourselves to the salvation of every soul committed to us, with more love and faithfulness than we have hitherto done. When has separatism been overcome in any other way, than by the pure preaching of the Cross, by the vivifying proclamation of the Gospel, by ardent love to the Lord, and to every one of the souls that he has redeemed at so great a ransom, and by faithful labor in the Lord's vineyard? Preach in your pulpits Jesus Christ as the savor of life unto life. (2 Cor. ii 16.) Preach Christ out of the abundance of a heart which has learned to know him as a Saviour; and thus will you drive away all deceitful spirits; you will scatter all the assemblies of a false worship; you will empty the conventicles and fill your churches. Love each soul in your parish according to the Lord's will, and that love will bring down the walls of separatism. If, in your parish, there are no Hernhutters, cause Presbyterian institutions to be set up within them, such as the church ought to possess in her normal state. Bestow on your congregations, by Bible and Missionary meetings, and by pastoral visits to the cottage of each of our peasants, bestow on them in this way, as much, nay, even more than the Moravians have to offer to their adherents. This is what one of our brethren has undertaken to do for some years past, and he has reaped abundant blessings for his flock, and immeasurable comfort to his own heart. Labor both in your study, and in the sacred house of God, whether for the scientific cultivation of your own minds, or for the practical ful-

filment of your functions; whether for the great work of the church, or for the salvation of a single soul. Labor on! But never work without prayer, without fervently calling upon the name of Jesus. Never let time be wanting for this occupation. Luther could manage to find three hours a-day for this holy work. Pray, read, unite yourselves more and more closely with the Word of God. Never act, never combat, without taking hold by faith of the sword of the Spirit. Drive the Pope out of your own hearts; and before you pretend to overcome that false spirituality which is itself nothing but an overweening pride, first become humble yourselves. Bear with wisdom and with mildness the faults of the sickly and the weak. Never exaggerate the claims of your ministry; and when you have to deal with Moravian laborers, never present yourselves before them as adversaries, or even as superiors commissioned to inspect them, but as friends and brethren, who agree with them in essential things. Never keep yourselves, your wives, and your children at a distance from the members of your congregations; never stand aloof upon the haughty footing of your noble birth,* but live among them as friends, as fathers. Be upon the same scale close beside them; stand before the cottages of our peasantry. Open to the meanest of your parishioners your own door, your own heart, your own purse. Thus the former love of the flocks towards their pastors will revive, even among the Hernhutters. They will no longer call you *Pasaules Mahzitaji*, that is to say, preachers of the world; still less will they regard you as *Pasauligi*, that is to say, worldly men. They will behold you as their faithful, their beloved, their venerated shepherds, teachers, and fathers! In truth, if, after an experience of twenty-four years, I were called upon to answer

* It is well known that the common people of the German duchies of Russia are descended from the original inhabitants of the country formerly conquered by the Teutonic knights, and are distinguished by language and otherwise from the descendants of the knights.

this question, 'What has been wanting to the church?' I should be obliged to answer with bitter tears of repentance, 'What has been wanting; has been above all things—myself! my own charity, my own faithfulness, my own vitality!'"*

So spoke in the Synod of Linden that venerable Livonian minister.

This discourse is one of the finest pages in the annals of the church. History will preserve it. I esteem myself happy in having been called upon to make it known to my brethren. Were there even nothing else in this note, I should not have written it in vain. I am sure that the Holy Spirit will re-echo these noble accents in the hearts of many of his servants.

This godly minister did not stop here. He laid before the Synod the rule of conduct which the ministers of the National Church should pursue, in order to co-operate peaceably with the Moravian laborers in the advancement of the kingdom of God within the church. These regulations display admirable wisdom. There are twelve of them. For the sake of brevity I will mention only one, the eleventh: "The pastor should regularly, at least once a year, hold a conference with the Moravian deacon and elder who labor among his flock. Not only would they thus endeavor, mutually, to keep up and strengthen a good understanding between them; but the pastor would also receive the necessary information, in the advancement of the work of the Brethren."†

This plan has not been unavailing. Thenceforward the pastors and the Moravian laborers have proceeded with more harmony in the work of God.

This was possible; for the evangelical ministers of Livonia, and the Christians who are among the lay nobility, and who are still more numerous, would join themselves to the successors of Zinzendorf and Spangenberg. They have the same God; the same salvation, the same Holy Spirit. Un-

* Report made to the Synod of Linden. † Ibid.

fortunately, besides the Evangelical party, there has latterly been formed a High Church party, that threatens, it is reported, "to repay the Moravian laborers with interest for the annoyances which, for some years past, they have caused to the church." May God remove these new contentions from that poor country!

I will conclude this note, by quoting the fervent wishes expressed in Livonia, by one of the lay members, who is placed in a most elevated station in that country and in that church. "May the Lord have mercy on his church, and not punish her according to her iniquity, but look upon her through the merits of Him who became her surety upon the cross, and for the sake of the holy name of Jesus, grant her forgiveness! May He, in all places, inspire the members of his Church Universal to offer up fervent prayers for suffering brethren; for wherever one member suffers, the whole body suffers with it. May He bless you a thousandfold with the fulness of his Spirit, and the abundance of his peace, O man beloved, and thus make you amends for all the struggles and the troubles you have had to endure for the sake of a sick member of his body, the Evangelical Church of Livonia. May He, in his grace, grant me one day to see your face; and if not on this earth, may it be, at least, before the throne of the Lamb that has been slain for you and for me!"

I therefore once more lift up my voice to make known to my brethren of England, of Scotland, and of America, that Church of Livonia whose leaders are descended from those valiant knights who devoted themselves, in the Middle Ages, to provide for the relief of sick or wounded Crusaders, and to defend against the attacks of the Saracens all those poor Christians who went to bow the knee on the hills of Jerusalem.* Their children now know better things: they have heard the voice of Jesus, saying unto them, "Ye shall no longer, neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. God is a Spirit, and they that

* The Teutonic Knights

worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth." (John, iv. 21. 24.) I therefore say, once again, to my fellow-Christians: You have brethren who are groaning in distress, who claim your prayers, who need your sympathy. Will you not hearken to them? Once before, I have stated these things. The Evangelical Alliance for Christian Union has held many meetings, has made many speeches, organizations and regulations; but I do not know that they have paid attention to what has been told them of the sufferings and the tears of their brethren. What will an Evangelical Alliance do, if it loves not the suffering members of Jesus Christ, and shows this love in some way? I am not only a friend to the Evangelical Alliance, I am also a member and a defender of it; but it is precisely on account of the respect I bear it, that I demand of it to become what it ought to be, and to fulfil its commission. "My little children, let us not love in word, neither in tongue, but in deed and in truth." (1 John, iii. 18.)

I hope that the voice I have now raised will not be altogether raised in vain. Even if no more positive demonstrations take place, I hope, at least, that some of my readers will hold out a brotherly hand to that respected minister of the Synod of Linden, whose eloquent and Christian discourse we have now heard, and to all the brethren and sisters around him. I hope that many prayers will be offered up in private in behalf of this suffering church, and that she will thereby be comforted and strengthened, through the power of the Holy Ghost.

I had previously suggested a respectful petition to the Emperor of Russia, and a fraternal address to the churches of Livonia. The former of these communications may be of no avail; but the latter would no doubt prove a balm to those bruised hearts.

I have stated these facts in their naked truth. I have quoted the documents themselves. I have allowed those to speak who have a rightful interest in the matter. I may

now keep silence, and this shall be my last word on the subject.

Some, even of the godly, may occasionally forget this evangelical precept: "Prove all things: hold fast that which is good." (1 Thess. v. 21.) They may, without sufficient examination, decide in favor of erroneous accounts. I have had some experience of it. But no matter. Error is error notwithstanding, and truth is truth. There is the voice of history;—a voice sincere, solemn, and holy; and to this voice does victory belong. Excuses and prejudices all pass away. But the voice of history still remains, because it is the voice of truth. We have advanced nothing rashly: what we have asserted we can prove; and we hope *always* to be able to say with Saint Paul, *We speak all things to you in truth.* (2 Cor. vii. 14.)

THE END.

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